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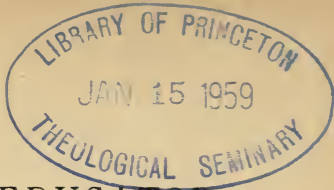
Jennings, A. C.

Manual of Church History









THE  
THEOLOGICAL EDUCATOR.

*Edited by the*  
REV. W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A.,  
*Editor of "The Expositor."*

REV. A. C. JENNINGS'  
MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY.

London :  
HODDER AND STOUGHTON,  
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MDCCCLXXXVIII.



A MANUAL  
OF  
CHURCH HISTORY.

✓ BY THE REV.

A. C. JENNINGS, M.A.,

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

London:  
HODDER AND STOUGHTON,  
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MDCCCLXXXVIII.

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## CHAPTER XI.

ELEVENTH CENTURY (1054-1100).

THE mainspring of that great ecclesiastical machinery which we call the Papal system of the Middle Ages was, from 1059 onwards, the College of Cardinals. The term cardinal originally meant a fixed occupier of an ecclesiastical office; but it had assumed a peculiar significance at Rome, possibly in view of this See's established claim to be the "*cardo et caput Ecclesie*." The Cardinal-bishops were the seven Bishops of the Pope's immediate province—those of Ostia, Porto, Albano, S. Rufina, Frascati, Palestrina, and La Sabina. The Cardinal-priests were the incumbents of the twenty-eight chief Roman churches. It was in the pontificate of Nicholas II. that the Lateran Council of 1059 vested all future Papal elections in the College of Cardinals. The minority of the Emperor (Henry IV.) had invalidated the imperial prerogative, and on the death of Stephen IX. the nobles of the Campagna had invaded Rome, plundered St. Peter's, and elected Benedict X. (1058), one of the house of the famous Consul Crescentius. Benedict, however, shortly succumbed to the cardinals' candidate, Gerard, Bishop of Florence (Nicholas II.), for whom Hildebrand thought

it advisable to secure the nomination of the Empress-mother Agnes. Hildebrand's influence may be detected in the provisions now established (1059). The seven bishops were to meet first to discuss the candidates' merits, but the Cardinal-priests were to join them in electing. The remaining clergy and the Roman people were only to be asked to assent to the appointment. The election was to be made "saving the due honour and reverence" of such as the Papal See recognised as Emperors. It must be noticed that this scheme was modified by Alexander III. in the next century, to propitiate other leading clergy not included by Nicholas, and especially the seven officials called "Palatine judges." These were included among the cardinals. In some other twelfth-century pontificate the inferior clergy were humoured by the inclusion in the college of the *regionarii*, or Cardinal-deacons. Henceforth the full number of electors was 53, until Sixtus V. in 1586 fixed it at 70.

The shadowy imperial prerogative was altogether ignored in the election of Nicholas' successor, A.D. 1061. Hildebrand's envoys had been slighted at the German court through the machinations of the factious cardinal, Hugh the White. He avenged himself by enlisting the assistance of the Normans, who had some years previously secured the Papal sanction for their inroads. Under Norman protection, and relying on the weakness of the boy Emperor, the cardinals, without regard to imperial privileges, raised to the pontificate Anselm of Lucca, who took the title Alexander II.

The Cardinals  
override the  
Imperial  
prerogative.  
Alexander II.  
and  
Honorius II.

and prelates at Basle now indignantly annulled the decree of the Lateran Council, and elected Cadolus, Bishop of Parma, who, assuming the title Honorius II., for some years held his own at Rome against the cardinals' nominee. Alexander's triumph was aided by the adhesion of Hanno, Bishop of Cologne. This prelate had coolly carried off the boy Emperor Henry IV. from his mother's guardianship in 1062, and had vested the administration of the Empire in the archbishop in whose province the prince should happen to be resident. Naturally Hanno and Hildebrand cemented an alliance, the latter comparing Hanno's procedure to Jehoiada's abduction of Joash from the wicked Queen Athaliah. A synod was now held at Augsburg which acknowledged Alexander as Pope, and excommunicated Cadolus. Peter Damiani seems to have produced at this meeting his noted dialogue between an "Advocate of the Royal Power" and a "Defender of the Roman Church," in which the Pope's independence of the Empire is plausibly maintained. The schism continuing, Hanno proceeded in A.D. 1067 to adjudicate the case at Rome itself. Here Hildebrand's argument, that no layman had any right to control the disposal of the Papacy, seems to have been admitted. Alexander vindicated his own conduct, and was confirmed in the pontificate. Cadolus retired to his bishopric of Parma.

We have observed that at Milan clerical marriages were tolerated, Ambrose's name being quoted as an authority for the concession. The practice so hateful at Rome was also connived at in Turin, and was probably rife through-

Attack on the  
married clergy  
of Milan.

out all North Italy. The first attempt to impugn it was made shortly after Henry III. appointed Guy to the archbishopric of Milan (A.D. 1045), by a disappointed aspirant named Anselm of Baggio. Ten years later Ariald, a deacon of questionable character, and Landulf, a nobleman of great oratorical powers, were incited by Anselm to attack the "Nicolaitan" clergy of Milan. A faction-war ensued, in which the mob usually opposed and the nobles abetted the married clerks. Archbishop Guy cited the two authors of the disturbance before a synod, but they disallowed his authority. Guy excommunicated them. Pope Stephen IX., gladly embracing the opportunity for interference, restored them. Anselm and Peter Damiani were sent as his legates to investigate this matter in 1057-8. Peter's eloquence overcame the citizens' resentment at this encroachment, and even persuaded them that their great Ambrose had himself yielded subjection to Pope Siricius.

Guy and the North Italian bishops attended the  
Triumph of  
the rule of  
celibacy at  
Milan and  
Florence. Lateran Council of 1059, and apparently accepted its decision on the questions at issue—that no married priest might celebrate mass, and that no clerk should take preferment from a layman, whether for money or gratuitously. But this ruling only caused fresh disturbances in North Italy. Ariald's cause was now joined by Landulf's brother, Herlembald, whose affianced bride had been seduced by a clerk, and who revenged himself by leading the Anti-Nicolaitans to acts of violence. Herlembald secured the Papal excommunication of Archbishop Guy as a simoniac in 1066,



but a tumult ensued at Milan which resulted in the expulsion and assassination of Ariald. In 1067 two Papal legates came to Milan, and ruled that the married clergy should divorce their wives on pain of deprivation. But Herlembald still pressed for the deposition of Guy, as a prelate elevated by imperial nomination. Guy weakly consented to resign, and was confined in a monastery till his death, the archiepiscopal power passing into the hands of Herlembald. A similar struggle against the Nicolaitan clergy and the bishop Peter was conducted at Florence by Gualbert and the monks of Vallombrosa. There the matter was settled by ordeal. The monk "Petrus Igneus" (afterwards made Cardinal-Bishop of Albano) succeeded in passing unscathed between two lines of flame, and popular clamour drove the bishop to resign.

The state of Germany during the nonage of Henry IV. reflects little credit on the Germany mis-governed by Hanno, Adalbert, and Henry IV. regent prelates. In violence, extravagance, and greed, Archbishop Hanno was rivalled by Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg, who having won the liking of Henry, now aged fifteen, carried him to Worms, and declared him fit to govern, A.D. 1065. Having thus secured to himself control of the Empire, Adalbert, by pillage and violence, so irritated the nobles that they decreed his expulsion in a diet at Tribur, 1066. Hanno was now again supreme. In 1069, however, Adalbert recovered his position, and continued his shameful maladministration till his death in 1072. Henry now took the reins of empire in his own hands, to do justice to his tutors by a career of tyranny and

spoliation. Leaguings with Siegfried, the rapacious Archbishop of Mayence, who had advanced a claim to tithes in Thuringia, he marched thither with an army of marauders. Saxony and Swabia groaned under the oppression, lust, and rapine of the imperial garrisons. One of the least of Henry's sins, his "simoniacal" disposal of benefices, was, in Papal estimation, the greatest. It drew upon Henry the wrath of Alexander II. This Pope now began the conflict so successfully waged by Gregory VII., by excommunicating five of the royal counsellors, and demanding that Henry himself should make satisfaction to the Church.

At this juncture (A.D. 1073) death ended a pontificate which had singularly advanced the policy of Hildebrand. Siegfried and Hanno had both obeyed Alexander's summons to Rome, and had been rebuked for countenancing simony. Lanfranc, appointed to Canterbury by William I. in Stigand's stead, had secured his pall from Alexander only by personal attendance at Rome. Thomas, Archbishop of York, had also attended to ask a Papal sentence as to the relative position of the two English primacies. The authority thus vindicated against prelates was now to encounter the highest representative of the secular power.

The clergy and people of Rome alike clamoured for the elevation of the man who had so long directed the policy of the Papacy. Duly elected by the cardinals, Hildebrand took the title Gregory VII., A.D. 1073. For the last time the confirmation of the Emperor was

Hildebrand's  
scheme ad-  
vanced by  
Alexander II.

Hildebrand  
becomes Pope  
Gregory VII.  
His  
ecclesiastical  
principles.

sought by the occupant of St. Peter's chair, and the imperial commissioners could find no irregularity in the distasteful appointment. The principles which Gregory avowedly applied in the management of the pontificate are set forth in the "Dictate," a document possibly of his own authorship. The Pope is here represented as a universal bishop. He is not only *sui generis* in the Church, and able to depose bishops without synodical sanction; he is set over the secular powers; he is able to dethrone emperors and absolve subjects from their allegiance. No council can be called "general," without his permission. The Pope never has erred, and is above all judgment. Consistently the epistles of Gregory assert that kingdoms are held in fief of the Pope. By audacious distortions of history, Saxony, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Denmark, Poland, England, Ireland, and other countries are all represented as entrusted to their rulers by the Papacy. The ambiguous term simony is extended to all lay patronage of benefices, it being argued that what has been given to God can never henceforward be subjected to the disposal of the donor.

These pretensions were furthered by the despicable characters of the French and German rulers, Philip I. and Henry IV. Despite their audacity, it is undeniable that in this and other periods the world temporarily benefited by the extravagant claims of the Papacy. They were the only available instrument for the suppression of rapacity and vice in high places. Against the oppressive and unprincipled

The Papacy  
checks  
misgovernment  
in France and  
Germany.

Philip, Gregory successfully used threats of an interdict, and the withdrawal of his subjects' allegiance. In dealing with Henry IV., whose misgovernment had now caused a formidable insurrection in Saxony, Gregory's hands were strengthened by two female allies. These were Agnes, the Empress-mother, who had listened to Peter Damiani and become a Roman nun, and the great Countess Matilda, the mistress of Tuscany and Lorraine, a woman who joined to extraordinary administrative talents zealous devotion to the Papal policy. Gregory's first triumph was when Henry was persuaded by Agnes to seek absolution from four bishops sent to Nuremberg as Papal envoys, and promise restitution of the plundered property of the Church, and a suppression of simony.

About the same time Gregory attacked the "Nicolaitan" clergy with surpassing boldness. Gregory attacks married and simoniacal clergy. The laity everywhere were charged at the Roman Synod of Lent 1074, to refuse the ministrations of all clergy who were guilty of "simony" or of marriage. This decree immediately raised a storm of indignation in Lombardy, Germany, and France. Siegfried, the Archbishop of Mayence, read it unwillingly at Erfurt, and his clergy replied with menaces against both him and Gregory. John, Archbishop of Rouen, on reading it was driven from the cathedral pulpit with stones. But Gregory sent legates to enforce his measure, and the monks everywhere aided him by rousing the populace against the "Nicolaitans." The monkish chronicler glories in the sufferings inflicted on the wives of the clergy, relating

how they were often driven to commit suicide, how some died suddenly, how others were carried off by evil spirits.

Having thus earned the detestation of the clergy, Gregory, in Lent, 1075, confronted the crying sin of the laity. The practice of lay-investiture was henceforth prohibited. No ecclesiastic was to receive it, no lay potentate was to confer it. We have already mentioned the objections of pious men to the use of such instruments of investiture as the ring and the staff. But Gregory's aim did not stop at a suppression of ambiguous symbols. It included a transfer of the feudal allegiance of the bishops from the sovereign to the Pope himself. There were many prelates to whom this change would be unwelcome. Guibert, the imperialist Archbishop of Ravenna, apparently abetted the attempt now made by Cencius, a disorderly nobleman, to carry the hateful pontiff from Rome by force. At the imperial court a deprived prelate, Cardinal Hugh the White, first suggested to Henry (who had been summoned to Rome for having nominated certain bishops), that he should retaliate by repudiating Gregory's claim to the Papacy.

For this purpose a synod was convened at Worms in 1076. Siegfried presided, and the bishops and abbots of Germany attended in large numbers. This assembly pronounced the deposition of Gregory, as elevated by bribery and violence, and guilty of "simony, magic, praying to the devil," etc. The Emperor himself wrote a letter to the Romans, bidding them expel

Gregory attacks  
the feudal  
relation of the  
clergy.

Synods at  
Worms and  
Piacenza  
disown  
Gregory.

“the monk Hildebrand.” The Lombard bishops at Piacenza spontaneously confirmed the proceedings of the German episcopate, and swore never again to acknowledge Gregory as Pope.

At the Lenten Roman Synod of A.D. 1076, these measures were formally announced. Un-  
Collapse of the  
opposition.  
Henry deposed  
at Tribur. dismayed, the great pontiff proceeded to excommunicate Henry, depose him from the government of Germany and Italy, and absolve all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The prelates who had met at Worms and Piacenza were suspended and interdicted from the Eucharist. William, Bishop of Utrecht, thereupon pronounced a ban against the Pope; the Lombard bishops did the same. But the speedy death of William, and the desertion of Udo, Bishop of Treves, and other prelates, dispirited the imperial party. The Papal excommunication was no despicable penalty. It was found moreover that the misgovernment of Henry made it impossible to maintain the imperial cause with ardour. “The world,” says Dean Milman, “could at this time do better without a Cæsar than without a Pope.” After Henry’s failure to suppress the Saxon insurrection his party diminished rapidly. By Gregory’s orders a diet met at Tribur. The Papal legates attended. The princes, nobles, and prelates of Germany (including many of his late advisers), denounced Henry as the cause of all calamities in Church and State, and decided to depose him. He was allowed a year’s grace to secure the removal of Gregory’s sentence of excommunication, foregoing the while all assumption of royalty.



Thus put at the mercy of his enemy, Henry was forced to cross the Alps in winter with a scanty retinue, A.D. 1077. He found the <sup>Henry's penance at Canossa.</sup> Italian bishops and nobles eager to rise against Gregory, but he adhered to his intention of seeking reconciliation. Gregory had retired to Matilda's fortress at Canossa. Here the Emperor was compelled to wait between the walls, barefooted and in penitential garb, for three winter days, before the sentence of excommunication was removed. But this celebrated scene only inaugurated another struggle. The Italians were disgusted at the Emperor's abasement, and the Germans were angered because the matter had not been settled by the Pope at Augsburg, as at first arranged. Gregory too even now evaded Henry's request for his coronation as King of Italy. The Emperor repented of his repentance, and pretexts for a fresh rupture were easily found.

The climax was reached when the Pope summoned the diet at Forcheim. Here the confederate princes, goaded by Gregory's legates, decided that they would no longer <sup>The rival Emperor and rival Pope, 1077-80.</sup> obey a sovereign under apostolic censure, and elected Rudolf, Duke of Swabia, in Henry's stead. Henry, however, had still many adherents, especially in the provinces of Franconia and Bavaria. The rival claimants involved Germany in a three years' war which produced great misery and disorder. Gregory held his hand, till Rudolf's success at Fladenheim in 1080 permitted a sweeping excommunication and deposition of Henry. Henry's party retorted by the election of Guibert of Ravenna as Pope. This was

no idle menace, for Rudolf's death in battle shortly turned the scales of fortune, and brought Henry's troops to the walls of Rome. Gregory stood a three years' siege, but at last Guibert (Clement III.) was enthroned in the Lateran, and by him the imperial coronation of Henry and Bertha was effected, 1084. Guiscard the Norman came, after Henry's withdrawal, to the rescue of Gregory, who had the satisfaction of witnessing a three days' sack of his faithless city. Under Norman protection he retired to Salerno, and here this bulwark of Papal assumption died in the following year, 1085. It will be seen how his grand idea of a universal religious autocracy, of a new Rome rising to rule the world by religion, was developed by such Popes as Alexander III. and Innocent III.

The anti-Pope Clement maintained his pretensions Close of Henry's reign. against Gregory's less noted successors, Victor III., Urban II., and Paschal II., and had the support of the Emperor. Henry's latter days were disgraced by his ill-treatment of his second wife, Adelaide, and saddened by the rebellion of his sons, Conrad and Henry, who successively (in 1093 and 1102) headed the opponent faction. The younger, Henry, connived at the incarceration and deposition of his father at Ingelheim, A.D. 1106. He was crowned at Mayence by Archbishop Ruthard, a prelate of Hildebrandine opinions, which he used this occasion to enuntiate. Henry IV. retired to Liège to write the kings of France, England, and Denmark letters denouncing the new pretensions of the Papacy, and to gather around him a formidable party. The scandal of an open war between father and son was



averted by the death of the former, after a troubled reign of fifty years.

Meanwhile Europe had been roused by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, to redress the sufferings of the Christians of Jerusalem, and prevent the extinction of the Byzantine Church. The First Crusade was

The First  
Crusade.  
Capture of  
Antioch and  
Jerusalem.

proposed by Urban II. in two vast councils at Piacenza and Clermont, A.D. 1095. The Pope's eloquence was answered by the famous cry, "*Diex lo volt*," and men and women of every grade joined the holy cause. The details of this romantic enterprise need not be pursued here. It will be sufficient to state that after a loss of more than half a million lives, Jerusalem was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, A.D. 1099, and a kingdom coterminous with ancient Palestine established under the famous legal code called the "Assizes of Jerusalem." The successive rulers were Godfrey, and the two Baldwins, his brother and his cousin. Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, was appointed its patriarch by Pope Paschal II. and introduced Hildebrand's theory of the relation of secular and clerical offices. Antioch had fallen in 1098, after the besiegers had undergone fearful sufferings. Here Bohemund, son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman, was established as prince, and a Latin ecclesiastic was consecrated as patriarch. The Eastern Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, craftily availed himself of the Crusade to recover Ephesus, Smyrna, Laodicea, and the western portion of the Saracen province of Roum. The Saracens, who had made Nicæa their metropolis, were compelled to

remove as far south as Iconium, and the Eastern Empire was freed from danger. But the political and ecclesiastical relations of the two Christian powers in the East were far from amicable, and the Crusade only embittered the great schism of the Churches.

The last half of the eleventh century is a memorable epoch in English Church history. The English Church after the Conquest. The Norman proclivities of Edward the Confessor had roused the patriotic nobles to strong measures. Archbishop Robert of Jumièges had been expelled in favour of the native Stigand, who secured the pall of a metropolitan from Benedict X., and held his see in defiance of Alexander II. Under the Conqueror, whose enterprise had received Alexander's special sanction, Stigand made way (A.D. 1070) for Lanfranc, the learned Abbot of Bec, whose share in the Eucharistic controversy provoked by Berengar has been noticed. All the Saxon bishops were removed by the invader, except the pious Wulstan of Worcester; and the obscure saints of the insular hagiology were deprived of their posthumous honours. The new monastic orders of the Continent spread over the land; and the chants used in the Saxon Church were superseded by those of William of Fescamp. William I. perceived that, even under Norman prelates, the Church was the bulwark of Saxon patriotism. He proceeded therefore, with Lanfranc's concurrence, to subject it to divers restraints by no means accordant with Hildebrand's theory. The bishops' estates were in Saxon times held in frankalmoign; William introduced a baronial tenure, with feudal oblige-

tions. Royal consent was required for the passing of canons, for the egress of ecclesiastics to the Continent, for the admission of Papal letters into England, even for the recognition of any one as Pope. The bishop hitherto sat with the earl in the county court. Henceforth there were distinct civil and ecclesiastical courts; cases concerning clerks being tried in the latter, and no bishop being empowered to implead or excommunicate a layman without royal consent.

Lanfranc's primacy (1070-1089) was an active one. Several great churches were built or re-  
Lanfranc as  
Primate. Eng-  
land's aversion  
to clerical celi-  
bacy. Its inde-  
pendence of  
Rome.  
 stored; and a transference of episcopal centres from obscure villages gave Eng-  
 land the new sees of Sarum, Chichester, Chester, Lincoln, and Thetford (moved in 1101 to Norwich). The future national service-book, the noted "Use of Sarum," was composed by Osmund, bishop of that see, and won Lanfranc's approval. Though the "regular" or monastic clergy ousted the seculars from the cathedrals, the Roman view of clerical marriage was not generally admitted in England. We find the Council at Winchester in 1076 allowing the rural clergy to retain their wives. Nor, we may add, did subsequent synods effect practical change in this matter, and Pope Paschal II. admitted that sons of the clergy formed the "greatest and best part" of the English priesthood. Fitzjocelyn, a Bishop's son, became primate in the next century. In fact, down to Reformation times, married priests and sons of priests continually rose to high places in the English Church and State. Equally characteristic of mediæval England is the Anglo-Norman atti-

tude towards Rome. To Gregory's demand of fealty William gave a flat refusal. He appointed Guitmund, a priest's son, to the Archbishopric of Rouen, without regard to Roman prejudices; and he kept his half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, in prison, despite Gregory's assertion of clerical immunity. A similar spirit was evinced by Lanfranc, who disregarded Gregory's repeated summons to Rome, even though threatened with deposition.

The oppression and greed of William II., however, impelled the next primate, Anselm—a  
Anselm with-stands William II. and Henry I. Lay investiture. divine as illustrious as Lanfranc—to seek redress at Rome. In his opposition to the tyrant (who coolly pocketed the revenues of vacated bishoprics and abbeys) Anselm had the sympathy of the people, but only two of the bishops ventured to side with him. In Italy the author of the *Proslogion* and *Cur Deus Homo* was received with great honour. Anselm took a prominent part at the Council of Bari (A.D. 1098), where a vain attempt was made to heal the rupture with the Greek Church. But Urban II., who had received large presents from Rufus, gave the English primate no active support. When this king died, Anselm returned to England, but was soon at issue with Henry I. as to investiture and homage. Both these practices had been forbidden by the Roman Synod of Lent 1099, which Anselm had attended. Again the bishops are found siding rather with the king than with the Romanising primate. Anselm repeated his visit to Rome, and again Papal inactivity was secured by the bribes of the English sovereign. A compromise

was at last accepted by Henry in A.D. 1105, in deference to Anselm's threat of excommunication, and was confirmed at the Council at Westminster, A.D. 1107. It was decided that the clergy should do homage for their temporalities, and the sovereign cease to confer the sacred symbols, the staff and the ring. It will be seen below that somewhat similar terms were the basis of a concordat between the Emperor Henry V. and Pope Calixtus II. fifteen years later.

The eleventh century is marked by the rise of numerous monastic orders. The Camaldolese and the hermits of Vallombrosa have been noticed. German monachism was reformed by William of Hirschau, in 1070, whose abbey in the Black Forest became the centre of an affiliation like that of Clugny. The latter order was now at the height of its reputation. Its abbots were made *ex officio* cardinals in 1120. France appears specially fruitful in monastic associations. The clergy of Avignon, by a reform of the canonical life, established the Canons regular of St. Augustine. The *boni homines*, or Order of Grammont, originated with Stephen, a nobleman of Auvergne, and eventually numbered a hundred and forty cells. The Carthusians were at first a limited brotherhood, established in the Chartreuse by Bruno of Rheims, cir. 1086. Bruno extended the fraternity before his death, to Calabria. The rigour of this Order (which is notable as escaping the deterioration usual in such systems), made its progress slow, and it has seldom included many female adherents. The celebrated

Monastic  
movement.  
Augustinian  
Canons,  
Order of  
Grammont,  
Carthusians,  
Cistercians.

Cistercian Order was established at Citeaux and Molesme by Robert of Champagne, cir. 1098. Its rule, as formulated by subsequent superiors, aimed at reviving Benedict's original system, and specially insisted on simplicity, even in Church furniture and divine service. The dress of the Cistercians was white. While the Cluniac government was monarchical, the Cistercian was on an oligarchical basis, the heads of four leading houses having special prerogatives in the conduct of affairs and in the election of the Abbot of Citeaux. The Cistercians were the first Order that had annual general Chapters. In 1151 there were 500 houses, and till the rise of the Friars this was the most popular of all monastic societies. The Cistercian lands were exempted from tithe-payment by Innocent II. in 1132. Lastly, the fraternity of "Poor of Christ," or "Order of Fontevraud," founded by Robert of Arbrissel on the confines of Brittany (cir. 1095), became noted as a refuge for female penitents. This society—men as well as women—eventually accepted a feminine headship.

Already there had appeared in Italy and France  
Heretics in France and Italy. some forerunners of the numerous heretical teachers of the twelfth century. A crazy French fanatic named Leutard, came forward cir. A.D. 1000 with pretensions to personal inspiration. A classical paganism was set on foot by Vilgard, a grammarian of Ravenna, who paid with his life for his intercourse with the spirits of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal. Manichæism appeared in Aquitaine in 1017, and at Orleans in 1022. Stephen and Lisoï, two

pious and learned ecclesiastics, led the sect at Orleans, and made converts in high places. They rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and the miraculous evidences of Scripture. They maintained that the heavens and the earth were eternal and uncreated. Apparently, too, they condoned sins of sensuality, and considered the ordinary duties of religion and morality superfluous. Thirteen of these heretics were burnt; as also were other Manichæans at Monteforte near Turin, in 1044. On the other hand, Gerard, Bishop of Arras and a pupil of Gerbert, recovered similar sectaries by argument and instruction, and Wazo, Bishop of Liège, expresses himself strongly against that policy of persecution which afterwards obtained such fatal popularity.



## CHAPTER XII.

### TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE pontificate of Paschal II., 1099—1119, prolonged the strife between the Papacy and the Empire. The coronation of Henry V. at Rome, in A.D. 1111, was preceded by a battle between the Germans and Romans. Rome and the Empire still at variance. The Pope and his Cardinals were actually carried away prisoners, and compelled to give formal sanction to the obnoxious practice of investiture. But the outcries of the clerical party in other quarters induced Paschal to renounce this engagement, and join in anathematising the Emperor for extorting it, 1112. Henry thereupon crossed the Alps and seized the territories which the great Countess Matilda had, without regard to the rights of her suzerain, bequeathed to the Roman See. The Papal party found a more able leader when Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, succeeded to the Papacy in A.D. 1119, as Calixtus II. Finding it impossible to bring Henry to terms, Calixtus adopted the tactics of Gregory VII. At the Council of Rheims he anathematised the Emperor and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Adalbert, Archbishop of Mayence, headed an army against Henry, and a great civil war seemed to be impending.



France, which had not been troubled by the investiture controversy, now intervened as peacemaker. A compromise was suggested by Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, and Godfrey, Abbot of Vendome. Negotiations between the hostile forces succeeded, and a concordat was finally read before a vast multitude in a meadow near the town of Worms, A.D. 1122. The terms comprised concessions on both sides. Bishops were henceforth to be elected without simony or violence in the presence of the Emperor or his commissioners. Investiture by the ring and staff was to be abandoned. The Emperor was to restore to the Papacy the lands taken from it since his father's accession, and cease to control the elections to St. Peter's chair. On the other hand the bishop elect was to be invested with his temporalities by the sceptre, before he could be consecrated. He was to perform the usual feudal duties, and was to be a genuine vassal of the Crown. It is plain that the advantage, though not commensurate with the aims of Hildebrand, lay on the side of the Church. Henceforward the Emperor is in theory disabled from control of episcopal appointments. This settlement of the long conflict was confirmed in 1123 by the General Lateran Council. Henry's death in 1125, and the election of the Saxon, Lothair II., the candidate supported by Adalbert, strengthened the position of the Papal party.

In 1130 a serious schism was caused by the rival elections of Innocent II. and Anacletus II., the one the representative of the Frangipani, the other of the Leonine faction. Anacletus, though eventually

unsuccessful, had a majority at Rome, and held

St. Peter's by force. Innocent retired  
The Papal  
 schism ended  
 by Bernard.  
 Lateran Council  
 of 1139. to France. Here the support of Bernard,  
 the Cistercian Abbot of Clairvaux (for

the next twenty-five years the most  
 potent personage in Christendom), won the fugitive  
 the French allegiance, the recognition of the English  
 Henry I., the active support of the Emperor Lothair.  
 The saintly Bernard brings back the true Pontiff in  
 triumph to Italy. Lothair receives from Innocent  
 the Imperial Crown in the Lateran Church. Rome  
 and the excommunicate Roger of Sicily alone remain  
 unconvinced. It is not till Anacletus' death in 1138  
 that the Pope of St. Bernard secures the Vatican and  
 the whole Roman allegiance. In 1139 the General  
 Lateran Council—the most numerous as yet held—  
 brings together a thousand bishops, with other pre-  
 lates, to depose Anacletus' partizans, and confirm the  
 insulted dignity of St. Peter's by fresh enactments.  
 One of these contrasts significantly with the terms  
 of the Concordat of Worms. Of every clerical func-  
 tion it is declared, "*A Romani pontificis licentia,  
 quasi feodalis juris consuetudine suscipitur, et sine  
 ejus permissione legaliter non tenetur.*" Officially at  
 least the clergy are to be the Pope's vassals.

The disloyalty of the Romans often contrasts  
The Roman  
 Republic.  
 Arnold  
 of Brescia. singularly with the Pontiffs' large demands  
 abroad. Before Innocent died, Rome was  
 clamouring for a Republic, a Senate, a  
 Patrician, a transfer of allegiance from the Pope to  
 the Emperor. The instigator of this revolt was  
 Arnold of Brescia, an honest but visionary reformer,

who for disparagement of the Church's temporal power had incurred condemnation and banishment at the great Council of 1139. The insurgents practically dethroned the Papacy. A Senate was constituted on the ancient model. A Patrician ruled in the Vatican. Cardinals' palaces were looted or destroyed. Pope Lucius dies fighting; Pope Eugenius flies beyond the Alps to become a satellite of the great Bernard; Arnold occupies Rome with Swiss forces. The Republic defies five successive pontiffs. The English Pope, Hadrian IV., at last appeals Rome by a sweeping interdict, 1155. The people side with the clergy, and compel the Senate to yield. Hadrian completed this triumph by demanding the surrender and execution of the fugitive Arnold, as the price of the Emperor's coronation. Frederic Barbarossa readily sacrificed the assailant of autocratic government.

Contemporary with this precursor of Wyclif, was a doctrinal reformer of larger intellect than Arnold, but of lower moral principle.

*Theology of  
Abélard.*

The name of the French theologian Abélard has been already mentioned in connection with the Nominalist controversy. Unrivalled in his mastery of the dialectical subtleties of the day, Abélard both disproved the Nominalism of his teacher Roscellin, and displaced the master of Realist wisdom, William of Champeaux. His theological teaching was seemingly of a wide rational character, ill-suited to such times. Abélard incurred his first condemnation at Soissons, 1121, on the charge of Sabellian heresy. Later on, he raised a storm of fury by unmasking a popular fallacy, and proving that St. Denys of France was not

identical with Dionysius the Areopagite of Acts xvii. 34. He incurred his final condemnation for the "Sic et Non," a work which claimed immunity for a wide and tolerant religious attitude, on the ground that the earliest and best authors gave discordant answers to the questions at issue. It was sufficient to condemn the book that Bernard (who had not the intellect to understand it) declared it heretical. Convicted by the Council of Sens, A.D. 1140, the author appealed in vain to Rome. Innocent's respect for the miracle-worker of Clairvaux induced him to condemn Abélard unheard. At the intercession of the Abbot Peter he was permitted to retire to Clugny, where the unfortunate lover of Heloise ended his singular career in 1142.

The second crusade, 1145-48, again brings Bernard on the scene. To his preaching and miracles this, the most unprovoked, pretentious, and disastrous of such expeditions, is attributable. Pope Eugenius III. was persuaded to promise plenary indulgences to the soldiers of the cross, and Bernard at Vezelay rivalled the rhetorical successes of Urban II. at Clermont. The two leading princes of Christendom, Lewis VII. and Conrad III., were induced to join the cause. Bernard, in one respect, showed wisdom. He declined to imitate Peter the Hermit in assuming military office. The expedition was fitly inaugurated by a brutal massacre of the wretched Jews at Cologne, Mayence, and other towns. We need not pursue its story. Of the 1,200,000 men who followed Lewis and Conrad, most were destroyed in Asia Minor. The survivors undertook an unsuccessful

ful siege of Damascus, and only a small fraction of the vast armament returned to Europe. The dissensions of the Christians in Palestine continued to strengthen the cause of Islam. Saladin, Prince of Egypt and Syria, in 1187 captured Guy of Lusignan in the great Battle of Tiberias, and took possession of Jerusalem. The news hastened the death of Pope Urban III. His successors roused Europe to a third crusade for the recovery of the Holy City. Philip II. of France, Richard I. of England, and the Emperor Frederic I. joined this expedition, A.D. 1190—1192; but its only achievement was the capture of Acre. The mutual jealousies of the leaders and the prevalence of epidemics induced Richard to make a treaty with Saladin in 1192. Jerusalem was left in the hands of Mohammedans, who were to allow Christian pilgrims to visit the holy places.

Until the pontificate of Hadrian IV., the existence of the Roman Republic, and the un- Conflict with the  
Empire renewed  
by Hadrian IV. worldly pietism of the great Bernard, combined to prevent fresh display of Papal assumption. Bernard's treatise, addressed to his admirer Eugenius III., and entitled "On Consideration," shows that the great Cistercian could dis sever the cause of religion from that of Papal ambition. The saint of Clairvaux denounces plainly the abuses of the pontifical system. He declares that the temporal pretensions of the Papacy are modern,—derived, not from Peter, but Constantine. The Pope, he urges, should be the brother, not the lord of other bishops. Bernard died in 1153. The firmness of Hadrian quelled the Roman insurrection in 1155.

A struggle ensues between the Papacy and the great Frederic I., and the triumph of Gregory VII. at Canossa is repeated by Alexander III. at Venice. Hadrian revived the loftiest pretensions of the Papacy. It was this Pope who granted Ireland to the invading Henry II. (1155), and the language of the grant expressed assumptions hitherto unheard of. All islands converted to Christianity belong to the special jurisdiction of St. Peter. As an acknowledgment of his gift, the Pope is to receive the tribute of Peter's pence from the conquered island. A Papal policy of this character perforce boded rupture with the imperious Frederic, a ruler who asserted the pretensions of the Holy Empire with equal loftiness. Frederic's touchiness or Hadrian's arrogance roused a quarrel as to a supposed assertion that the Empire was a benefice of the Church. Scarcely had Hadrian explained away the ambiguous language, than a fresh rupture was precipitated. Frederic, in crushing the Lombard municipalites, had encroached on Papal territory, insulted the legates, demanded the same homage from prelates as from nobles. Hadrian's complaint of these aggressions brought on an angry correspondence. The excommunication of the Emperor was imminent, when Hadrian died, to be succeeded by a more famous exponent of Hildebrand's policy, the crafty Alexander III.

Frederic had the misfortune to abet the candidature of the anti-Pope Victor IV., who was  
Alexander III.  
triumphs over  
Frederic I.
accepted at his bidding by the Council of Pavia, 1160. Alexander secured the recognition of France, Spain, England, above all of



the monastic Orders generally. He at once excommunicated both Victor and Frederic. The great Council of Tours, 1163, where the new English primate Becket plays a prominent part, awards the Papacy to Alexander. Victor dies. The new anti-Pope Paschal III. is supported only by Lombard and German prelates, and Alexander in 1165 re-enters Rome in triumph. Frederic unwisely prolonged the schism. He brought Paschal to Rome, fought his way into St. Peter's, and had his Empress crowned by the anti-Pope. At this juncture a fearful pestilence decimated his army, and took off his leading prelates. Lombardy rose in arms. The Emperor precipitately retreated to Germany, and in 1170 ceded a sulkily recognition of Alexander's pontificate. A deeper humiliation was in store for the great Hohenstaufen sovereign. The Italian cities cemented a formidable league. Alexander was its avowed head, and Manuel the Greek Emperor courted its alliance. At Legnano, 1176, the forces of the League secured a decisive victory. Frederic is forced to demand a truce, and to seek the services of Alexander as a mediator. At Venice the great Emperor prostrates himself before the pontiff, and promises a future cession of the domains of the Countess of Matilda. The excommunication is withdrawn. Pope and Emperor are again at one, till the pontificate of Innocent III.

We now turn to England, where the martyrdom of Becket, 1173, and the penance of Henry II., contributed to enhance the pretensions of the Papacy.

The hierarchical cause in England. Becket, and the Constitutions of Clarendon.

As in Italy, so in England, the hierarchical contest

is entangled with a democratic movement. The cause of the arrogant Becket is fortunately allied with that of an oppressed populace. His posthumous triumph effects more for constitutional freedom than for priestly immunity. The tendency of Anglo-Norman legislation in respect to the clergy has been already noticed. The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164, intensified its rigour. Practically this concordat, which Becket signed under pressure, ruled that a criminous ecclesiastic should be both degraded, and also punished as a layman. It vested ecclesiastical appeals in the king, and gave him the revenues and right of appointment in vacant benefices. The Conqueror's law was included, that no prelate might leave England without royal sanction. It will be observed that the democratic programme which was embodied in the subsequent *Charta* directly traverses these demands. The claims of the priesthood, and indirectly of every class, to be tried by its peers, fairly taxed, and conceded its rights free of purchase, were personified by Becket, when he retracted his assent to the Constitutions. The English bishops, however, as in Anselm's case, side with the imperious sovereign and his barons, when Becket, in defiance of the Constitutions, leaves England to appeal to Rome. Lewis VII., from personal rancour to Henry, warmly abetted the fugitive Primate's cause. Alexander utilized it in Roman interests, inducing Becket to resign and receive again from the Papacy his archiepiscopal office. Henry now inhumanly evicted all Becket's kindred, refused Peter's Pence, even joined Frederic in his support of the anti-Pope Paschal III.



Alexander gives Becket a legatine power, and Becket uses it to excommunicate all the fautors of the Constitutions of Clarendon, 1166. Alexander, however, did not openly abet this bold procedure. At this time, his own position was critical. And to the last he plays a double part, influenced perhaps by jealousy of the English Primacy. Protracted negotiations were at last suddenly ended by a reconciliation between Henry and Becket, at Fretteville. The Primate returns, to wreak his vengeance on the royalist bishops, specially on those of York and London. The protest of these suspended prelates provoked the King to that passionate utterance which inspired the assassination in Canterbury Cathedral. The Church's triumph was secured by this bloody deed. All Christendom reprobates it. Thomas of Canterbury becomes a saint, is renowned through Christendom for his wonder-working powers, and inspires the English populace in the approaching struggle for constitutional rights. To remove the interdict inflicted by Alexander, Henry humbles himself in Avranches Cathedral, and an abrogation of the statutes of Clarendon is one of the conditions of his purgation.

The last episode in Alexander's pontificate is the General Lateran Council of 1179. This <sup>The Third</sup> Lateran Council, 1179, vested the election of pontiffs in the enlarged Cardinals' College, and gave the Papacy to the candidate who secured two-thirds of the votes. The crusade against the heretics of France was here sanctioned. The Council also made canonization of saints a Papal instead of a conciliar prerogative. It

was alleged that, as one of the "greater causes," it was perforce centred in the Church's head. The Papal history after Alexander's death in 1181 is of little interest, till the close of the century introduces the strong rule of Innocent III., 1198—1216.

The religious Orders of most note are now the Cistercians and Cluniacs. The fame of Bernard so aided the Cistercian cause, that he may be regarded as the second founder of the Order. A hundred and sixty houses owed to him their origin or their rules. The Cluniacs regarded with a jealous eye the popularity of Cîteaux, and Bernard was provoked to a literary warfare by William the Cluniac Abbot of Thierry. Bernard's chief contention is that the Cluniac discipline is sapped by luxurious living and gorgeous services. The allegation was true. But degeneracy, consequent on popularity, is equally apparent in the Cistercian houses before the century's close. Monasticism had made rapid progress in England. The jealousy of episcopal control, now everywhere exhibited by the monks, was specially conspicuous in the Canterbury houses of St. Augustine's and Christchurch. The latter successfully appeals to Rome (ever ready to side with monks against bishops), when Archbishop Baldwin tries to found a new college at Hackington, 1189. St. Augustine's, with its claims to privileges ancient as King Ethelbert, is continually asserting its independence of the Primates. It defies the interdict with which Archbishop Theobald, in 1148, assails King Stephen. Contentions are rife between the other episcopal centres and the great

Monasticism in  
this century.  
Cistercians.  
Cluniacs. In-  
dependence of  
Religious  
Houses.

monasteries; between Lincoln and St. Albans, Chichester and Battle, Bath and Glastonbury, Sarum and Malmesbury.

A new phase was given to the life of canonical fraternities by Norbert, a German ecclesiastic, cir. 1120. From Premontre, in Premonstratensians. Picardy, Norbert's system spread over Europe, and for a long time retained an unimpaired character. The Premonstratenses combined monastic austerity with practical priestly duties, thus anticipating the friars of the next century. In imitation of the Cistercians, this Order held annual Chapters, and endowed their greater houses with peculiar privileges.

The crusades gave to the monastic impulse a wider range and a new aim. The Carmelites Carmelites and Military Fraternities. were a hermit settlement, established by Berthold the Calabrian, on Mount Carmel, cir. 1160. After the expulsion of the Latins from Palestine, this fraternity dispersed, to appear in Europe as one of the thirteenth-century mendicant Orders. The Carmelites attained great popularity. Their audacious pretence to trace their origin to the prophet Elijah was exposed by the learned Bollandists, in the seventeenth century. A more characteristic creation of the crusades is the military brother, the Knight Hospitaller, Knight Templar, or Teutonic Knight of St. Mary. The Knights Hospitallers or Knights of St. John were evolved by a monastery founded at Jerusalem for the benefit of Latin pilgrims cir. 1050. Enriched by endowments, this institution assumed a martial character under the presidency of Raymund

du Puy in 1120. Its adherents were divided into three classes—knights, clergy, and serving brethren; and its military members soon distinguished themselves by signal acts of valour. The Hospitallers settled after the loss of Jerusalem first in Cyprus, then in Rhodes, finally in Malta, given them by Charles V., and retained till modern times. The history of the Templars is less respectable. They were professedly an association of knights for the defence of pilgrims, instituted by Hugh des Payens, and sanctioned by the Council of Troyes, 1128. The name was derived from their first residence, a house near the supposed ruins of the Jewish temple, allotted them by Baldwin II. Noble descent, and three years' service against the infidels, were the qualifications for admission, and the members took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Within fifty years this Order enjoyed a royal revenue; and, despite the severe rules of its founders, excited general hatred by its greediness, cruelty, insolence, and depravity. Hence its abolition (1312) by order of Pope Clement V., acting under the pressure of Philip the Fair.

The Teutonic Knights of St. Mary had their origin in a German nursing brotherhood, extemporised at the siege of Acre in 1190. Patronised by princes and pontiffs, this Order gradually acquired great emoluments. It was employed by the thirteenth-century Popes to effect the compulsory conversion of Prussia. The siege of Acre gave birth to a similar establishment of English Hospitallers; other military orders for the defence of the faith and protection of pilgrims arose about the same time in Spain.

The twelfth century was one of increasing intellectual activity, and we notice the association of students in "universities" as one of the striking features of the time. The University of Paris owes its origin to William of Champeaux, Abélard, and their contemporaries. Oxford was known as a school of civil law in the middle of this century. At the beginning of the next, Cambridge was famous as a seat of learning. The claim of the Lombard cities to autonomy led to a revival of the study of Roman law, and the foundation of the noted law-schools of Bologna. It was only natural that a desire should be felt to treat Church law in the same scientific spirit. Hence the production by Gratian, a monk of Bologna (cir. 1151), of the compendium of patristic, conciliar, and papal sentences, styled "*Concordantia discordantium regularum*." In this work, of course, the False Decretals play a prominent part. Canon-law from this time became a special study, and had its professors at the universities. The sciences of the old trivium and quadrivium were now generally grouped under the faculty of "philosophy." The other faculties were civil jurisprudence, medicine, and theology.

The scholastic dialectics, by which theology had been represented, gave place in public esteem to a more dogmatic system. Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris (d. 1164), had issued the Four Books of Sentences, a kind of foil to the speculative "*Sic et Non*" of Abélard. Christendom gave a slavish adhesion to the Master of the Sentences : England alone produced

Learning—Universities, Law-schools and Canon-law.

Theology—Peter Lombard's Sentences, New Festivals, Relics, Indulgences.

a hundred and sixty-four expositions of this noted text-book. To this work is to be assigned the future popular numeration of seven sacraments. We notice that Trinity Sunday was added to the Church festivals in this century. Becket established its commemoration in England. Its special office was first appointed by Pope John XXII. (1316-34), who greatly emphasized its observance throughout Western Christendom. The multiplication of offices in honour of the Virgin, the commemoration of her "Immaculate Conception" (cir. 1140), the increased fabrication of relics, and the development of the system of indulgences by the crusades, fairly illustrate the character of twelfth-century religion.

The Greek Church now lay steeped in superstition. Christianity in the East. A singular deference was paid to the Emperor's ecclesiastical supremacy, and the Emperor Manuel (acc. 1143) is found enforcing new dogmas on the relationship of Christ to the Father. The subject of reunion was from time to time broached both in East and West. Friendly discussions on the subjects of difference occurred, but without practical result. Nestorian Christianity appears to have gained a footing in the far East, and legends of the grandeur of Prester John, the priest-sovereign of Tartary, were now rife. To analyse these stories is unnecessary. Tartar Christianity did not survive the successful invasion of the great Genghis Khan, cir. 1202.

In connexion with missions, the labours of Malachy (d. 1148) among the savages of Ireland should be noticed, as bringing the island into closer relations



with Rome. It was regarded by the chronicler as "contrary to the dignity of the Church of Canterbury" that a cardinal-legate held a synod at Kells, and bestowed the honour of the pall on the episcopates of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam. The results of Pope Hadrian's subsequent commission to the English king to invade Ireland (1155) belong to secular history. Christianity continued to make progress in Scandinavia, and a successful mission to Pomerania was undertaken by Otho, Bishop of Bamberg, aided by Boleslav, King of Poland, cir. 1125.

Of the sectaries of this century it is difficult to speak precisely. Revolt from the superstitions and abuses noticeable in the Church seems usually to have engendered Gnostic proclivities and strange moral tenets. The Bogomiles (a term said to mean "Friends of God") were a Bulgarian sect of this character. They established themselves in Constantinople, under one Basil, and were cruelly persecuted by the Emperor Alexius. In the West a blasphemous and licentious fanatic, named Tanchelm, disturbed Antwerp, cir. 1125. In Gascony, a more respectable heresiarch, Peter of Bruis, by denouncing prevalent ecclesiastical abuses, and promulgating his own system of primitive Christianity, caused great commotion. The mob, irritated by his destruction of crosses and churches, seized the founder of the "Petrobusians," and burnt him, cir. 1115; but his system received a new development from the Cluniac monk Henry, who was at last confuted by the great Bernard at Albe.

Ireland,  
Scandinavia,  
Pomerania.

Sects—Bogomiles, and Petrobusians.

In divers parts of Europe sectaries, who were charged with Manichæan tenets, were per-  
 Publicani, Cathari, Waldenses. secuted by the authorities. The German  
 "Publicani" were found preaching at Oxford, and were cruelly treated by Henry II. Possibly the Publicani were allied to the Bulgarian Cathari, who at this time infested Lombardy and Southern France, and were persecuted by Raymond V., Count of Toulouse. The third Lateran Council of 1179 sanctioned a crusade against these unhappy sectaries. Their chief offence was their blasphemous invective against Christian institutions, and their lives appear to have been irreproachable. Henry of Clairvaux, a Papal legate, is said to have carried out the Lateran decree with great cruelty; but the sect continued to maintain its hold in Languedoc. The Waldenses, or Poor Men of Lyons, probably owed their origin to Peter Waldo, a Lyonnese merchant, cir. 1170. They appear to have disowned the Manichæism of the Cathari, and sought, like the Petrobusians, to revive a primitive Christianity based on the New Testament. In fact their teaching, in many points, reminds us of Puritan Protestantism. Their lives appear to have been moral and even exemplary. But they necessarily suffered under the persecution directed in the next century against the Albigenses or Cathari of Languedoc ("Albigesium").



## CHAPTER XIII.

### THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THE prominent figure at the beginning of this century is Innocent III., who uniting the boldness of Hildebrand with the astuteness of Alexander III., brings the Papacy to its acmé of power. <sup>Aggrandizement of Papacy under Innocent III.</sup> Innocent began an audacious policy abroad by commendable reforms at home. He abolished the ostentation and luxury of the Papal court, and even set limits on its venality. At the same time, however, he persuaded the Roman prefect, an imperial officer, to receive investiture, and the Roman citizens to swear obedience to the Pope.

The heir of the Hohenstaufen family was now the infant Frederic II. Remembrance of the nonage of Henry IV. suggested to many the advisability of setting this child aside in favour of a competent emperor. <sup>Contest for the Empire—Philip and Otho.</sup> Two candidates for the imperial office appeared,—Philip of Swabia, Frederic's uncle, and Otho the Saxon, nephew of Richard of England, and his viceroy in Poitou. France abetted Philip, England Otho. The latter had the sympathy of most ecclesiastics. Both however obtain archiepiscopal coronation, and Innocent is

asked to adjudicate. He makes the bold assumption that to the Papacy belongs "principally and finally," the disposal of the empire, decides in favour of Otho, and summons his rival to resign. A ten years' war was the consequence, in which prelates so actively engaged that martial prowess became a qualification for the episcopal office.

On the assassination of Philip in 1208, Otho  
Innocent sub-  
ordinates Otho  
IV., and  
Frederic II. secured peace by marrying his young daughter. After pledging himself to respect ecclesiastical immunities, extirpate heresy, and recover the territory of old belonging to the Papacy, he was crowned by Innocent at Rome. This is the sole instance of an emperor admitting at coronation that he was raised "by the grace of God and the Apostolic see." Otho however quickly forgot his obligation, and proceeded to occupy the territory bequeathed by the Countess Matilda. Innocent promptly anathematized him, and released his subjects from allegiance, 1210. Otho's pride and covetousness had already made him offensive to the princes and prelates of Germany. These shortly rose in arms, declared him to have forfeited the empire, and with Innocent's approval, elevated the Hohenstaufen Frederic II., now aged sixteen. Philip Augustus abetted Frederic's cause. Otho, defeated at the battle of Bouvines, 1214, relinquishes his claim, and the young emperor pays for Innocent's support with oaths similar to those broken by Otho. He also makes the Pope the guardian of his infant son, the titular King of Sicily, and promises that the Sicilian kingdom shall always be separated from the Empire.

Besides thus twice awarding the imperial crown, Innocent compelled the sovereigns of France and England to bow to his decisions. His interposition on the side of the outraged French queen Ingeburga, in 1200, commands our sympathy. An interdict on the French nation speedily impelled Philip II. to promise submission and display Ingeburga publicly. But it was not till 1213 that he fulfilled his pledge and restored her to her rights as wife and queen. In England, Innocent's first triumph was his securing the nomination to the primacy in 1207. The conflicting electoral claims of the king, the bishops, and the monks of Christchurch, had caused a contested election. It was agreed to appeal to Rome. Innocent set aside the rival candidatures, and appointed Stephen Langton. John vented his disappointment by ejecting and plundering the monks. The Pope laid England under an interdict (A.D. 1208), which the tyrant defied for six years. A personal anathema was added without effect. John continued to avenge himself by despoiling the prelates and clergy. Philip of France was now invited by Innocent to head a crusade against England. The expedition had been resolved on by a French assembly at Soissons before John tendered his disgraceful submission to the legate Pandulf. Innocent's terms included a formal acknowledgment that the kingdoms of England and Ireland were fiefs of Rome, and a pledge to pay the Papal suzerain a yearly tribute of one thousand marks.

Innocent's  
triumphs in  
France and  
England.

Against this depraved and despicable king the

barons now rose, with their charter of liberties. Langton was their champion, and the first article in Magna Charta raised a bulwark against those invasions of clerical rights, which had been so frequent since the Conquest (June, 1215). The Church of England was to be "free, and have her rights entire, and her liberties uninjured." But liberty of the subject and the prerogatives of national Churches were little valued by Popes of Hildebrand's school. Innocent is now found on the side of John. He tries hard to annul the charter, excommunicates all who shall oppose the king, and severely censures, and even suspends Archbishop Langton.

The vigour of Innocent's rule was equally felt in the less important States. Hungary, disturbed by the rival claims of two royal brothers, was quieted by his intervention. Peter of Aragon came to Rome to lay his regalia on the altar of St. Peter's, and receive investiture as a Papal vassal. It was Innocent who incited the Spanish Christians to that combination against the Mohammedans, which effected the great victory of Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, and finally checked Moslem incursions from Africa. The princes of Dalmatia and Bulgaria rendered allegiance to this great pontiff. The Patriarch of Armenia, ignoring the rupture between East and West, accepted a pall from Rome, and pledged himself to attend the Western Councils.

Europe was not yet sickened of the crusading movement. Though no prince of the highest rank

joined the expedition of 1202, some two hundred thousand men were persuaded by the preaching and miracles of Fulk of Neuilly, and Innocent's influence secured this force the aid of the Venetian navy. This fourth crusade produced important results. The army was induced to join the cause of Alexius, son of the deposed emperor, Isaac, against his usurping namesake. But when he had been enthroned, differences arose which resulted in a brutal sack of Constantinople by the Western troops. By agreement of the French and Venetian contingents, the imperial crown was now conferred on Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and the Byzantine patriarchate on the Venetian Morosini. Both appointments were sanctioned by the Pope in the usual authoritative style, A.D. 1205. But the opposition of the Greeks and the mutual jealousies of the French and Venetians, rendered this annexation unprofitable to the Western Church. A series of weak and impoverished Latin rulers ended in 1261, when Genoa, moved by hatred of Venice, aided the Greeks to dispossess Baldwin II., and enthroned Michael Palæologus.

**The Fourth  
Crusade, and  
Western  
occupation of  
Constantinople.**

Innocent's reign bears the odium of the "Children's Crusade," cir. 1213, resulting in the deaths or enslavement of thousands of adventurous boys. Yet more discreditable was the crusade against the Albigenses, or Cathari of Southern France in 1209. The practice of extirpating false opinions by cruel deaths was now in general favour, though Bernard and other noted divines had denounced it. The successes of the Cathari in Italian

**The Children's  
Crusade, and  
Albigensian  
Crusade.**

towns had induced Innocent, in 1207, to order that the authorities should deliver all heretics "to the secular arm" for punishment. The followers of Amalric, a Parisian sectary, who preached an immoral kind of Pantheism, had been lately burnt. To this crusade in Languedoc, Philip II. sent fifteen thousand soldiers. Raymond VI. of Toulouse, banned and disgraced for complicity in the murder of a Papal legate, was compelled by Innocent to join the expedition. But the responsibility of its atrocities rests chiefly with Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a leader renowned for valour and for devotion to the Church. The town of Beziers, where both orthodox and heretics refused admission to the invaders, was the scene of a fearful butchery. At Carcassonne, which capitulated, some four hundred heretics were hanged or burnt. Deeds of even more revolting character were perpetrated by De Montfort in other towns. The heretics retaliated with like barbarities, and were at last openly abetted by Raymond. The horrors of this Albigensian war ended in 1216, with the elevation of De Montfort as prince of the subjugated territory.

An important outcome of this barbarous expedition was the institution of the Preaching Friars. Dominic de Guzman, the founder of the Black Friars, had taken part in the invasion of the Albigensian territory. Moved by the example of the heretics, he announced the importance of "meeting zeal by zeal, preaching lies by preaching truth." A brotherhood was accordingly formed, devoted to preaching and the confutation

**The Mendicants.**  
**Dominic de**  
**Guzman, and**  
**Francis of**  
**Assisi.**

of heresy. The Dominican fraternity at once won the approval of Bishop Fulk of Toulouse. Innocent somewhat tardily gave it his sanction, A.D. 1215. From Languedoc the Dominicans, side by side with the Franciscans, made their way throughout Europe. The life of Dominic's contemporary, the wonder-working Francis of Assisi, belongs to the province of hagiology. His fraternity begins when he sets forth as a preacher of repentance, with eleven disciples, whom, with Innocent's sanction, he incorporates in a missionary guild, cir. 1210. The Grey Franciscan Friars, whose ostentatious humility was indicated in their appellation, "Friars Minorite," had attracted five thousand adherents in 1219. Their first formal charter was granted by Honorius III. in 1223. The work of the two Orders and their less noted imitators in many respects resembles that which Wesley and Whitefield initiated in modern England. Discarding book-learning, the friars appealed to the illiterate masses by the power of fervent oratory. Their rugged eloquence was supplemented by lives of self-denial and active charity. Both brotherhoods were forbidden to hold property, and the preachers relied for subsistence on a system of mendicancy.

That the friars inspired the Church with new vigour, and revived a practical Christianity by their humane labours among the poor and the plague-stricken, is undeniable.

Subsequent  
History of the  
Mendicant  
Orders.

But it is equally plain that in these Orders the inevitable degeneracy came with unusual speed. In 1230 a bull of Gregory IX. relaxed their vow of poverty. In 1245 Innocent IV. cancelled it alto-



gether. Francis had ordered that even the churches of the Franciscans should be unadorned; but the splendid palaces of this brotherhood gave rise to the saying that the friars "turned the bread of the poor into stones." Similarly the professed contempt for learning and ecclesiastical dignity disappears. The friars invade the professorial chairs and the cathedral thrones. Dominican learning was represented by Thomas Aquinas, Franciscan by Bonaventura. Nicholas IV. and the English primate Peckham were both Franciscans; their elevation suggesting the boast that the "sun and moon" had both put on the friar's garb. By the end of the century the friars were noted chiefly for mutual animosity, pedantic disputation (the Dominicans were Nominalists, the Franciscans Realists), greed of bequests, and captious antagonism to the parish priests. It is noteworthy that the Popes abetted the friars against the clergy, just as they sided with the abbots of the older brotherhoods against the bishops.

The last event in the pontificate of Innocent III. is the fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215. The Lateran Council of 1215. At this large assembly the four Oriental patriarchates were represented. Deposition and exile were pronounced on the heretical Raymond VI. An assertion of the dogma of transubstantiation, penned by Innocent himself, was passed without protest. All Christians were charged to confess at least once yearly, and to communicate at Easter.

The reign of the mild Honorius III. (1216-27) is memorable only for a disastrous Egyptian Crusade, and a feeble struggle with Frederic II. concerning



the union of the German and Sicilian crowns. His successor, the aged Gregory IX., was a pontiff of high views and severe life, but of singularly petulant temper. He precipitately excommunicated Frederic for supposed slackness in organising the fifth Crusade (1227). Throughout the vicissitudes of this expedition, which resulted in the coronation of Frederic at Jerusalem, the Emperor was opposed by the Pope, the hierarchy, the Templars, and the Hospitallers. The Papal forces even invaded Apulia, under the Templar Grand Master, John of Brienne. Frederic returned to rout his opponents, and Gregory in vain fulminated against the successful soldier of the cross. A truce was concluded at San Germano, ostensibly favourable to the aged pontiff, and an interval of peace was spent by both parties in rival works of legislation. Gregory, to reconcile and supplement the various compilations of the Canon Law, published his Decretals, a code which crowns the fictions of the pseudo-Isidore with the highest pretensions of Hildebrand's school. The Decretals assume that all secular law is subordinate to that of the Church. The clergy are therefore exempted from secular judgment and taxation. The State must not only respect the special cognizance of the Church, it must carry out by temporal means the Church's decrees. On the other hand, Frederic contemporaneously issues a legal system of admirable character. Apart from the case of heresy, which both codes punish with the severest capital punishment, the Emperor's view of ecclesiastical matters strikingly contrasts with

Conflict of  
Gregory IX. and  
Frederic II.  
Gregory's  
Decretals.

Gregory's. With Frederic the crown is the supreme source of law and order. Provisions are accordingly made against clerical evasion of feudal duties. Appeals to the Pope in temporal matters are prohibited. The crown is empowered to legitimatize the children of a clergyman.

The rival legislators join issue in 1235, when  
Failure of Gregory IX.
 Frederic conducted a successful expedition against the insurgent cities of Lombardy. Gregory, whose offices as arbitrator had been declined, chose to treat this campaign as an invasion of Church property. He again excommunicates the Emperor, releases his subjects from their allegiance, bans all clergymen who shall officiate in his presence. Frederic, not content with confuting the various charges made by the Pope, appealed to the princes of Christendom against this odious malignity. Gregory's counterblast, charging Frederic with heresy and blasphemy, and demanding the election of another Emperor, produced little effect. The imperial forces marched on the Papal territories. Cardinal Colonna, the Pope's best general, went over to Frederic. To complete his humiliation, Gregory's attempt to convene a General Council resulted in Frederic's capture of a fleet laden with foreign prelates, 1241. Gregory IX. died shortly afterwards, leaving a name for great assumption rather than for practical achievement.

The conflict drags on under Innocent IV. The  
Innocent IV.  
The Council of Lyons. Decline of the Empire.
 new Pope is forced to fly from Rome, 1243. France, Aragon, and England decline the costly honour of a Papal visit. Lyons, not yet within the French domain,

offers the pontiff protection ; and here is held the thinly attended General Council of 1245. Innocent bemoaned before this assembly the "five wounds" of the Church—the Tartar encroachments in Russia and Poland, the schism of the Greeks, the heresies of Lombardy, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Charismians, the persecutions of the Emperor. On his own authority he excommunicated and deposed Frederic. The Emperor revenged himself by keeping sees and benefices vacant, and actively persecuting the mendicant friars. But Frederic's star was now waning. The great prelates of the Rhine abetted the Papal cause, and set up successively Henry of Thuringia and William of Holland, in the room of the excommunicate sovereign. A war, marked by barbarous cruelties, was carried on in Italy till Frederic's death, 1250. Innocent continued the conflict against Conrad, his successor, and against Manfred, the guardian of Conrad's infant heir. Peace was not restored till the demise of this Pope in 1254.

Meantime, ominous murmurs against the corruptions of the Papacy were making themselves heard. England, under Henry III., was farmed by foreign ecclesiastics, who mostly lived wholly abroad. Gregory IX. had claimed two prebends in every English cathedral, and the allowance of two monks in each monastery. By Papal "provision" a living not yet vacant was provided with its future incumbent. "Reservation" (a claim to reserve to himself any benefice he desired) gave the Pope unbounded facilities for such provision. At the Lyons Council of 1245, the feeling of England

Papal Extortions  
in England.  
Provision.  
Reservation.

was expressed by Roger Bigod and others, who appealed for a limitation of the " execrable extortions " of the Pope, by which 60,000 marks passed yearly from England to Italy. Next year, the estates convened at Westminster unanimously sent a gravamen on this subject to Innocent IV. But the Pope bade Henry take warning from the fate of the excommunicate Frederic II., and the weak English sovereign succumbed. The resolute policy of subsequent reigns was, however, foreshadowed by the individual resistance of Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who successfully combated Innocent's appointment of an infant nephew to a Lincoln canonry. Grosseteste, though not a doctrinal reformer, is notable as a great assailant of the worst scandals in the mediæval system. He resented the abuse of indulgences, the misapplication of patronage, the employment of the clergy in secular business. He befriended the friars, as yet in untarnished repute, and installed them as teachers at Oxford, where also he attempted to introduce the study of the Scriptures. Grosseteste excited Innocent's wrath by preaching a famous sermon at Lyons against the corruptions of the Papacy in 1252.

Somewhat later the increasing jealousy of Papal pretension finds illustration in the Court of France. Even the saintly Lewis IX. is guilty of anti-papal legislation, 1269. His Pragmatic Sanction (the foundation of the future Gallican liberties) secures to the national Church freedom of election to dignities, and protests against the " assessments of money by the Court of Rome, by which our realm has been most miserably im-

Anti-papal  
Legislation of  
Lewis IX.

poverished." A similar protest is latent in Lewis' "Establishments," which distinctly enunciate the position that the King of France "holdeth of no one save God, and himself."

Lewis had at heart the real welfare of the National Church. Too often, however, the sovereign who protests against Roman rapacity, in his maladministration of benefices rivals the representative of St. Peter. If the Popes filled English livings with Italians, Henry III. was as liberal to Bretons and Provençals. Two royal prerogatives often occasion burning dissension in this age, the *jus regale* and *jus exuviarum*. The first gave the sovereign the emoluments of a vacant see for a time of disputed duration. We have noticed the abuse of this prerogative by our Anglo-Norman kings. The *jus exuviarum* gave the Crown the furniture and pecuniary savings of the Bishop defunct. These had originally lapsed to the Church. From arbitrating their distribution the sovereign had passed to a pretended claim to such personalties.

While the Church was disgraced by the avarice of its rulers, lay and clerical, its policy towards suspected heretics continued to outrage all natural humanity. Against the wretched Albigenes of Languedoc, Gregory IX. had armed orthodoxy with the "Inquisition," and placed it in the relentless hands of the friar-preachers, cir. 1233. The system of this tribunal violated throughout all ordinary rules of judicial fairness. The accused were entrapped by insidious questions, even impelled by torture to self-inculpation. They were refused all

Extortions of  
the Sovereigns.

Establishment of  
the Inquisition.

professional assistance. Even the names of the incriminating witnesses were not disclosed. The three penalties of the Inquisition were—for those who recanted, penance of fearful severity ; for those not absolutely convicted, perpetual imprisonment ; for the obstinate or relapsed, death at the stake. The Inquisition aroused horror by its atrocious persecution of the French heretics. It was generally detested, but seldom openly resisted. Its tyranny made holy wars of all kinds unpopular, and partly explains the decay of the crusading spirit.

After a three years' vacancy, the Papacy was filled in A.D. 1271, by a pontiff of large aims and felicitous career, who seemingly succeeded in closing the schism of East and West. Gregory X. had been a crusader. His efforts at reunion were subsidiary to a great scheme for enlisting all Christendom in a common effort for the recovery of the Holy Land. This Pope enjoyed exceptional advantages in his relations to the two Emperors. Michael Palæologus sought the assistance of Rome against the disaffected Greek clergy and against Charles of Sicily. Germanus the ex-Patriarch was accordingly sent to the great Council of Lyons (the fourteenth "General Council" of Roman computation), in 1274. The envoy owned the primacy of the Pope, and acknowledged the Latin creed ; he only demanded that the Greeks should be allowed to omit the Filioque, and retain their own usages. The Western Emperor, Rudolf of Hapsburg, owed his promotion to the pressure Gregory put upon the electors. At the council the attitude of Rudolf's envoys was

Successful  
career of  
Gregory X.



all that a Pope could desire. They renounced the *jus exuviarum*, promised freedom of elections and immunity of Church property, and obtained a formal confirmation from Gregory of the Emperor's election. Gregory persuaded Rudolf's rival, Alfonso of Castile, to withdraw his claims, and was rewarded with larger favours. Rudolf not only took the cross, but pledged himself to recover for Rome the Countess Matilda's bequest, Corsica, Sardinia, and other disputed territories. He also acknowledged as genuine the privileges which Lewis I. and Otho I. were supposed to have granted the Papacy. Gregory X. thus gained from the Empire more than any other Pope had really done.

The second Council of Lyons in point of attendance and conduct contrasts strikingly with its predecessor of 1245. Its chief subjects of deliberation were the subsidy for the Holy War, the union of the Greeks, and the reformation of morals. The clergy of all countries (with some demur on the part of England), promised a tithe for six years. The Greek bishops joined in reciting the article of the double procession, and a reconciliation of the two Churches was formally ratified. The Pope inveighed against the vices of the clergy, urged the prelates to reform themselves, and passed canons to prevent the scandal of prolonged vacations of the Papacy.

These efforts were rendered fruitless by the sudden death of Gregory, A.D. 1276. It was found impossible to resuscitate crusading zeal. Christendom continued lukewarm, even in 1291, when Acre was captured by the infidels,

The Council of  
Lyons, A.D. 1274.

The Council  
is without  
practical effect.

and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Grand-masters of the Military Orders perished. Michael vainly endeavoured to enforce conformity on the Greek clergy by persecution, and his son Andronicus treated his memory with contempt, and excluded the Pope's name from the Greek offices. Even the canon respecting Papal elections fell into abeyance, and there was an interval of over two years between the pontificates of Nicholas IV. and Celestine V. The last-named is noticeable as elevated from a hermitage, proving himself utterly unfit for the arduous duties of the Papacy, and persuaded to retire by the arrogant and self-seeking Cardinal Gaetani (Boniface VIII.), A.D. 1294.

This pontiff's career is memorable as one of pre-  
Boniface VIII.  
The "Clericis  
Laicos." Its  
reception. posterous pretension, successful avarice, and profound disgrace. The saying ran that "he entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and went out like a dog." The grasping Boniface strained the instrument which worthier Popes had used so successfully, and Hildebrand's policy never again recovered its moral prestige. The Empire under Adolph and Albert was unable to contend with its great rival. The battles of the Papacy were waged in the West against Edward I. and Philip the Fair. Both kings were guilty of oppressive taxation of the clergy, and we find Edward in 1295 venturing to demand from the English clergy half their incomes. Royal extortion was made a pretext in 1296, for the extravagant bull *Clericis Laicos*, "On no title . . . is any tax to be levied on any property of the Church without the distinct permission of the



Pope." Every layman of whatever rank who receives such money is at once excommunicated. Every ecclesiastic who pays it is at once deposed. When Edward demanded a tenth for the Scotch war the clergy cited this bull, and claimed exemption. The king however, by fines and confiscations, enforced the submission of all but Archbishop Winchelsea, who held his own till Edward effected a compromise. Philip IV. countered the *Clericis Laicos* by forbidding all exportation of treasure from the realm, thus amercing the Italian incumbents of French benefices, and stopping all tribute to Rome. Boniface found it best to explain away the obnoxious document, and conciliate Philip by canonizing his grandfather the crusader Lewis IX.

If discomfited by the failure of this noted bull, the Pope secured a signal triumph in 1297, when both France and England accepted Boniface in his private character as the arbiter of their dispute. The success of the jubilee of 1300, which brought this pontiff an immense treasure, enlarged the bounds of Papal pretension. Boniface now claimed the title Cæsar, and affected imperial attire. Scotland, menaced by the English sovereign, turned for protection to the Holy see. The Regency declared Scotland to be a fief of Rome, and Boniface readily incorporated the admission in a bull, which was denounced by the Lincoln Parliament of 1301. With Philip IV. Boniface became embroiled in a dispute about the legate. His letters to this king were soon couched in terms of intolerable insolence. In the bull,

Boniface's  
struggle with  
Philip IV. The  
"Unam  
Sanctam."

*Ausculda Fili*, Philip was reminded that the Pope has power "to pluck down, destroy, scatter, rebuild, and plant." His ecclesiastics were invited to a Roman Council, which was to discuss the grievances of the French Church. When Philip's hands were weakened by the Flemish war, the Archbishop of Tours and other prelates set off for Rome, in defiance of a protest from the Estates of the realm. The Roman consistory issued the celebrated bull, *Unam Sanctam*, declaring that Peter's successor holds the "two swords" of spiritual and temporal power, and "that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Roman pontiff" (A.D. 1302).

Albert at this time requited Boniface's recognition of his imperial title by admitting that Humiliation of Boniface VIII. the electors derived their authority from Rome, and promising to defend him against all injury. Thus fortified, he excommunicated Philip for hindering the French bishops from attending the Roman Council, and for burning the bull, *Ausculda Fili*. Philip, however, with the aid of Boniface's Italian enemies, induced the French prelates to accept a gravamen, charging the Pope with usurpation, immorality, simony, murder, sorcery, even with heresy. Even the Friars and Military Orders, hitherto the servile adherents of the Papacy, joined the king's side. Boniface was summoned to defend himself before a General Council; but the disgraceful violence of his enemies averted this issue. On the eve of the date fixed by Boniface for a second bull of excommunication, his palace at Anagni was attacked by troops

headed by Sciarra Colonna, and Nogaret, the French chancellor. Every kind of indignity was heaped upon the captive pontiff. The people of Anagni rescued him, and placed him under the care of the Orsini at Rome. But Boniface, now in his eighty-sixth year, only survived this disgrace a few weeks. It apparently caused an attack of insanity. He died miserably, it was said by his own hands, 1303. With him collapsed the high pretensions of the Papacy, which shortly emigrates to Avignon, and becomes a mere appanage of France.

We briefly notice the spread of Christianity in this century. Among the Tartars, who invaded Europe cir. 1240, several friars <sup>Spread of Western Christianity.</sup> laboured with indifferent success. The most noted of these was Rubruquis, a Franciscan, who gained access to the great Khan, and has recorded the Tartar customs. The Mongol system was, it seems, a monotheism of extremely tolerant character, and on certain festivals the rites of Nestorianism, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism were publicly performed in succession. Kublai Khan, who pushed the Tartar conquests eastward, and reigned at Pekin 1280—1294, invited thither a Christian mission, which included the famous Marco Polo; but with no higher purpose than that of civilizing his people. Throughout this century overtures passed between the Armenian Christians and the Papacy, and in 1292 a court party secured the formal reconciliation of the Armenian Church to Rome. Livonia was evangelized coercively by Albert of Apeldern and the “Brethren of the Sword,” and Riga was made its

archbishopric in 1246. In Prussia the Teutonic Order had carried on the holy war since 1230, but the severities of the knights made the new religion unpopular, and their sovereignty was not established till 1283. Russia, harassed by the Tartars, received from Innocent IV. an embassy proposing union with the Latin Church; but these negotiations had no practical result. The Mohammedans of Africa were visited by the zealot Raymond Lully, a native of Majorca, who in old age sought and obtained the crown of martyrdom, 1314. Lully's name is also honourably connected with the missionary training schools, which King James of Aragon founded at his instance in Majorca (cir. 1287.) The policy of meeting the rival religion on some common ground for awhile displaced the senseless fashion of banning and persecuting; and controversial treatises were now written to win converts from Judaism and Mohammedanism. In learned literature of this kind Raymond Martini's *Pugio Fidei* is prominent, as exhibiting a knowledge of Rabbinic learning remarkable for the age.

Heresy continued to spread throughout the century despite the atrocious cruelties of the Inquisition. As most of the sectaries based their systems on isolated texts of Scripture, the reading of both Old and New Testament was restricted by various Councils. The Council at Beziers, in 1246, went so far as to forbid laymen to have any theological books, and clergy to have any in the vernacular. How readily unorthodox belief provoked the most preposterous

Heresies—The  
Stedingers,  
Brethren of the  
Free Spirit,  
Apostolici.

charges is shown in the case of the wretched "Ste-dingers," a Frisian tribe, six thousand of whom were butchered in 1232 for practising magic, worshipping toads, black cats, etc. The associations of beghards and beguines offered to the persecuted means of retreat. Their members, therefore, were often indiscriminately assailed as heretics. A sect on the Rhine, styled "Brethren of the Free Spirit," who lived by mendicancy, and in their pursuit of perfection incurred charges of immorality, were much persecuted about the middle of the century. A similar sect were the Apostolici, headed by Segarello, a crazy native of Parma, who was executed in 1300. His successor, Dolcino, waged open war against the clergy. His adherents took refuge in the Alps, where they were exterminated with fearful cruelties in 1307, at the instigation of Clement V.

The greater mendicant Orders have been noticed. Their success excited many imitators, and Gregory X., at the second Council of Lyons, confined the privilege of licensed mendicancy to four Orders—the two great brotherhoods, the Carmelites, and the Austin Friars. The last Order was a union of the communities who professed the rule of St. Augustine, instituted by Alexander IV. in 1256. But by this time the rule of poverty was observed by none except the conscientious Franciscans termed *fratricelli*. This age was fond of prophecy, and two noted enthusiasts received countenance from the Franciscans. Joachim's "Everlasting Gospel" (1250) announced the advent of the Last Age, that of the Holy Spirit working

Mendicancy  
restricted,  
Prophecies of  
Joachim, and  
John Peter Oliva.

through St. Francis. Peter John Oliva (cir. 1297) represented the saint as heralding the sixth of seven ecclesiastical ages, and foretold that the seventh would include the destruction of the Papacy by Frederic of Sicily.

The tendency of ecclesiastical doctrine and ritual may be gathered from our summary of events. The Church was fast losing its moral influence. Personally in disesteem, the clergy professionally claimed and obtained a superstitious reverence, based on their functions at the Holy Communion. Transubstantiation in its grossest form was credited, and confirmed by legends of bleeding wafers. Thomas Aquinas gave an affirmative answer to the doubtful question whether an animal that should eat the consecrated host received the Lord's body. The doctrine of "concomitancy," broached by Anselm, had led to a restriction of the cup to the celebrating priest, and the tendency was to make the laity altogether spectators instead of communicants. The Lateran Council of 1215 had made one yearly reception sufficient. Alexander Hales argues that it is not right to eat bread which miracles prove to be the very flesh of Christ. The popular doctrine was stereotyped in the festival of Corpus Christi, decreed in honour of the eucharistic body in 1264, and universally established by Clement V.'s bull of 1311. Besides developing the system of composition by purchase of masses, the twelfth century extended the system of indulgences. Some hundred thousand people yearly obtained plenary absolution by visiting the Franciscan Church at Assisi on the

Doctrine and  
Ritual in the  
13th century.



festival of St. Peter ad Vincula. Countless numbers availed themselves of the indulgence offered at Boniface's jubilee. As usual, a plausible logical system was devised to commend the innovation. The self-denial and unmerited suffering of saints gave them, it was argued, an excess of merit. From this superfluity the Church was authorised to draw for the relief of members less richly endowed. The precatory absolution now took a declaratory form at the instance of Thomas Aquinas. Itinerant "quæstuaries" or "pardoners" began to hawk indulgences promiscuously. More practical, if equally superstitious, was the strange "flagellant" movement of 1260, which spread like an epidemic through Hungary, Poland, France, and Germany, and had to be suppressed by severe penalties. The reverence due to the Virgin Mary was by Thomas Aquinas defined to be *hyperdulia*, a mean between the *dulia* paid to saints and the *latria* due to the Father and to both natures of the Saviour. The house of the holy family at Nazareth, which about A.D. 1294 was carried by angels to the neighbourhood of Loreto, attracted henceforward the devotion and offerings of pilgrims. The doctrine of St. Mary's Immaculate Conception, which had been discredited by Bernard, was accepted by Duns Scotus, and therefore by all future Franciscans. The Brotherhood won for it a general approval. It was firmly established in England by Archbishop Mepham in 1328.

The thirteenth century introduces a glorious period in Church architecture, and the skill of illuminators, glass stainers, workers in metal, and other decora-



tive artists, now approached perfection. Literature was much encouraged, and among its patrons were Alfonso X. of Castile, and the Emperor Frederic II. The latter established the Universities of Naples, Padua, and Vienne. The famous theological school at Paris was founded by Robert of Sorbonne, chaplain to Lewis IX. (cir. 1250). To describe minutely the labours of the leading theologians would be wearisome and unprofitable. Theological study was now little else than a barren system of hair-splitting dialectics, on premises which few would now accept as unassailable. When the tyranny of logic necessitated impious or absurd conclusions the scholastic divine escaped by differentiating things "philosophically true" and "theologically true." Much of this casuistry was due to the reverence paid to Aristotle, who, notwithstanding considerable opposition, remained the dictator in philosophy. With the "Irrefragable Doctor," the English Franciscan, Alexander Hales (d. 1245), began the system of conducting disputes in syllogistic form, afterwards accepted by all the schoolmen. Albert, the "Universal Doctor," a Dominican, held for a time the Bishopric of Ratisbon, 1260-63. He is credited with vast learning, great acuteness in argument, "a courage which sometimes ventures even to contradict the authority of Aristotle, and an originality which entitles him to be regarded as the real founder of the Dominican system of doctrine." But his pupil, Thomas of Aquino, the "Angelical Doctor" (d. 1274), became the standard authority not only of the Dominicans but of the Church. At the Council of Trent, his

Art. Literature.  
The leading  
Schoolmen.

“Summa Theologica” was placed on the secretary’s desk beside the Scriptures, as the orthodox key to all controversial problems. The great Franciscan schoolman of this century was John of Fidanza, called Bonaventura, General of the Order (d. 1274). He advanced the cult of the Virgin, and was known as the “Seraphic Doctor.” But the Aquinas of the Franciscans was John Duns Scotus, a North Briton, of Oxford training, who taught at Paris in 1308. The differences between the Dominican and Franciscan schools were emphasized by this “Subtle Doctor,” and much discord was caused when the general assemblies of his Order gave a binding authority to his opinions. To posterity, the most interesting of the schoolmen is Roger Bacon, esteemed in his own day a sorcerer, though honoured with the title “Wonderful Doctor.” His researches in physical science provoked the persecution of his Franciscan superiors, and to satisfy Clement IV. Bacon wrote under great difficulties his *Opus Majus*, *Opus Minus*, and *Opus Tertium*.

Of the political changes of this century we have said little. The student will, however, remember the importance of this period in the history of constitutional government. The statesmen who in England headed the demand for liberty were mostly in clerical orders; and side by side with Parliament, the “Convocation” of the clergy worked out its organisation as an estate of the realm possessing deliberative, legislative, and taxing powers. The basis of Convocation was finally determined before the end of this century.

The Church and  
Constitutional  
Government.  
The English  
Convocation.

This venerable institution, which now survives as a deliberative assembly, was the tax-paying agency of the English Church till 1664, and its administrative body till 1717.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

BONIFACE'S career had seriously impaired the prestige of the Papacy. Benedict XI. found himself forced to conciliate Philip IV. He reversed the bulls of excommunication, toned down the *Clericis Laicos*, restored Boniface's enemies, the Colonnas, and allowed Philip to circulate a libellous life of the late Pope under the name of Maleface. The next Pope, Clement V. (1305), was a Gascon, had been Archbishop of Bordeaux, and was elevated as the puppet of the French king, in defiance of the Italian cardinals. Clement dared not enter Italy, and eventually settled at Avignon, now part of the realm of Naples. Thus begins the prolonged severance of the Popes from Rome, called by the Italians "the Seventy Years' Captivity" (1305—1376). This period of exile was very damaging to the assumptions of the Papal court. Its corruptions meanwhile increased, and its moral tone was often grossly scandalous.

Clement's impotence was shown by his attitude when Philip swept away the Templars with fearful cruelties in 1308-10. This Order had been made independent of all but the Papal authority by a bull of Alexander III. A.D. 1173. Clement V., however

The "Seventy  
Years' Cap-  
tivity."

Suppression of  
Templars.  
Council of  
Vienne. Duran-  
dus proposes  
Reforms.

was obliged to profess conviction on the subject of the profanities and unnatural vices of the knights, and sanction Philip's confiscation of their property. In every country the horrors usual in the case of suspected heretics marked the abolition of this unpopular Order, after the Pope had withdrawn his protection. Clement was also forced to connive at Philip's curious suit against the memory of Boniface VIII. All Boniface's procedure against France was erased from the Papal registers, and Philip and his other enemies were declared to be free from guilt. The General Council of Vienne (A.D. 1311), which formally dissolved the Templars, also discussed the subject of Church reform. Though nothing was effected, the proposals of Durandus, Bishop of Mende, illustrate the state of the Church, and the aims of conscientious reformers. Durandus desired to deprive the cardinals of the franchise after any three months vacation of the Papal see; to assemble General Councils every ten years; and to abolish those dispensations and exemptions in behalf of monasteries and brotherhoods, which the Popes had used to disparage the episcopate. He denounced simony, appointments *in commendam*, and the pride, ignorance, and luxury apparent in the priesthood. In regard to marriage he claimed for all clergy the same freedom that was sanctioned in the East, but desired severe penalties for those who really lived immoral lives.

Philip and Clement both died in 1314. The cardinals were inveigled to Lyons, and there  
 Pope John XXII. elected the learned canonist John XXII., who, despite promises to the contrary, continued the

settlement at Avignon. The power of the French crown now collapses; and the exiled Papacy for awhile renews the pretensions of the thirteenth century. John invaded the liberties of the French Church by redistributing its dioceses, and reforming the Universities of Paris, Toulouse, and Orleans. He persecuted sorcerers and Jews with remorseless cruelty. It was an age of "spiritual" enthusiasm. The Fratricelli took up the prophecies of Joachim and Oliva, and predicted the end of the visible Church and the advent of the millennium. By the Dominican inquisitors these crazed Franciscans were readily confounded with Albigensian heretics, and burnt. John was also impolitic enough to affront the whole Franciscan Order by denunciation of the doctrine of "evangelical poverty." He even rescinded the ancient charters of Franciscanism, and forbade the Order to quote the name of the Apostolic see in its conduct of affairs. Henceforward the Franciscan friars, hitherto the staunch servants of the Papacy, familiarised the lower orders with arguments to its disparagement.

The appearance of rival candidates for the imperial throne in the year of his accession gave John opportunity for a pushing policy in Opposes  
Lewis IV. Germany and in Italy. His maxim was: "When kings and princes quarrel, then the Pope is truly Pope." He waited for the issue of the conflict to hurl himself against the winner. When Lewis of Bavaria, at the decisive battle of Muhldorf, defeated the Austrian princes, 1323, John declared the matter should have been referred to him for settlement, and forbade Lewis to use the imperial authority. Lewis appealed

to a general council, and the Pope excommunicated him.

But John, like Boniface, over-estimated his powers. The Electors sided with Lewis, and few prelates in Germany issued the Papal sentences. The great Franciscan, the "Singular and Invincible Doctor," William of Ockham, published his "Dialogue," and his "Compendium Errorum Papæ," declaring the fallibility of Popes and Councils, and denouncing the temporal pretensions of the Papacy. At the same time appeared the satirical "Defensor Pacis," the composition of John of Jandun and Marsilius of Padua. The whole Papal system was here impugned with much skill. The equality of all the apostles, and the identity of the orders of bishop and presbyter are maintained. General councils are the final courts of appeal in ecclesiastical questions; and they must be summoned by the emperor. It is uncertain that Peter was ever at Rome. The Church need not have an earthly head. Such tenets were startling in the fourteenth century. The freedom of the antipapal writers drove the champions of Rome to exaggerate the old fabrications. All powers, spiritual and secular, are now said to belong to the Pope, and Constantine's donation becomes a mere act of restitution.

Lewis, however, made his way to Milan and Rome, and in both cities was crowned by bishops of the Ghibelline faction, 1327. At a vast assembly outside St. Peter's, he exposed John's procedure, and pronounced him to be deprived of the Papacy. A

Ockham's "Dialogue" and "Compendium." The "Defensor Pacis."  
Lewis IV. appoints an Antipope. Success of John. He is accused of Heresy.



Franciscan, who had held the office of Papal Penitentiary, was elevated as Nicholas V., 1328. But political complications shortly drew the allegiance of the Italians from the emperor and his anti-pope. Nicholas abjured his apostasy, and tendered a disgraceful submission to John at Avignon, 1329. The latter strained every nerve to effect the ruin of Lewis by anathemas and conspiracies. But this persecuting pontiff himself now fell under a charge of heresy. He had asserted in a sermon that the saints, (even the Virgin not excepted), did not enjoy the beatific vision until the end of the world. This view shocked certain Dominicans, and its condemnation by the Sorbonne alienated from John his self-seeking ally Philip VI. The excitement on the subject induced the Pope to make some kind of recantation. Shortly after this humiliation he died, leaving an immense treasure swelled by recent exactions for a proposed crusade.

John's persecution of Lewis IV. was continued by the next Popes, the reforming Benedict XII., 1334, and the dissolute Clement VI., 1342. The weak sovereign exhausted every expedient for securing pardon, and at last decided to resign, 1346. Charles of Luxemburg was his successor. Clement had the management of the election in his hands, and extorted from the new emperor degrading pledges of submission. This roused much indignation in Germany, and the "Priests' Emperor" was for some years recognised by few. Charles IV., however, came to terms with the opponent Bavarian faction in 1350, and justified Clement's choice by a wise and peaceful rule, and by his encouragement of

Charles IV.,  
the "Priests'  
Emperor." The  
Golden Bull.

literature and art. By a singular fatality, the "Golden Bull," which finally determined the system of imperial election, and which absolutely ignored the papal claim to interference therein, was issued by the "Priests' Emperor," A.D. 1356.

In 1347-48, the whole social system of Europe was shaken by the visitation of the "Black Death," which carried off a fourth of the population. Its ravages were particularly fatal to the parochial clergy and the itinerant friars. It was followed by a renewal of the flagellant movement of 1260. Another Jubilee was celebrated in the year 1350, and countless pilgrims earned dispensations by attendance at the Roman Churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran. But still the Papal court remained at Avignon. Among the Roman delegates who, in 1343, petitioned Clement VI. to appoint the Jubilee, was the patriot Rienzi, who also wrung from the pontiff a promise to revisit Rome. The attempts of Rienzi to raise Rome to her former grandeur, and free her from the tyranny of the Colonnas, the Orsini, and the Savelli, resulted in his coronation as Tribune, in 1347. But his short reign was regarded with jealousy by Clement VI. He fell to the sound of Papal anathemas, and was, in 1352, a prisoner of the Pope at Avignon.

Again a reforming Pope appears in the person of Innocent VI., who for ten years, 1352-62, laboured to restrain clerical corruption, and whose legate, Albornoz, compassed the second and disastrous reign of Rienzi, 1354. Urban V., 1362, was a ruler of the same type. He

The Black  
Death. Jubilee  
of Clement VI.  
Rienzi.

Innocent VI.  
and Gregory XI.  
The Papacy  
again at Rome.

interrupted the course of the Seventy Years' Captivity by a return to Rome in 1368, and for the first time since Boniface's death a Pope celebrated mass at St. Peter's. But a vain struggle with the insubordination consequent on his predecessor's neglect sickened Urban of Rome. He returned to die at Avignon, 1370. His successor, Gregory XI. had only the vice of nepotism. In 1376 he determined to regard the inspired voices of Catherine of Sienna and Bridget of Sweden, rather than the remonstrances of the French king and the luxurious Avignon cardinals. He returned to Rome. The "Captivity" was ended. Abroad Gregory XI. had the triumph of confirming the Emperor's appointment of his son Wenzel as his successor. But he strove vainly against disorder and usurpation in the Papal dominions, and died broken-hearted and meditating a return to Avignon, 1378.

Gregory's death was succeeded by a great tumult in Rome, the people insisting that the French majority should no longer sway the cardinalate. The cry, "We will have an Italian," was so far acceded to, that a Neapolitan archbishop (Urban VI.) was chosen. But the new pontiff speedily embroiled himself with the cardinals by hasty reforms, and an arrogant demeanour. The majority of the college retired to Anagni, professed to have voted for Urban under intimidation, and elevated the warrior Bishop of Cambray. This prelate, as the anti-pope, Clement VII., begins, at Avignon, the great "schism," which divided Western Christendom for nearly forty years, 1378—1417. France, of course,

The "Great  
Schism,"  
1378—1417.

sided with Clement; Scotland accepted him because England acknowledged Urban; Spain was detached from the Roman line by the Spanish cardinal, di Luna, afterwards Benedict XIII.; but Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and almost all Italy expressed their weariness of the prolonged French dominion by maintaining the legitimacy of Urban. The great thrones passed about this time into the hands of such weak or debauched sovereigns as Richard II. of England, Charles VI. of France, and Wenzel of Germany. These could not attempt to arbitrate in such an important contest. The spiritual influences—the prophets and prophetesses—were divided between the rival Popes; the Avignon line being, however, specially favoured by the miracles of Peter of Metz. The Councils of Pisa and Constance, which ended the schism, evaded the burning question of legitimacy. No conciliar verdict has since decided it, and some Gallican divines still maintain the apostolical succession of the line of Avignon.

It will be needless to narrate the details of this degrading contest. Clement VII. un-  
The Schism  
prolonged by  
Papal  
insincerity. scrupulously fleeced the French Church and people, and by a large demand of “expectatives” in respect to reversion of benefices overrode the rights of private patrons. But Urban’s successor, Boniface IX., outdid the Avignon Pope in rapacity. He sold the same reversions twice or thrice over, and revoked indulgences and privileges in order to sell fresh ones. A jubilee was ordered for the year 1390, as well as for the centenary, and despite the absence of French pilgrims both occasions largely

enriched the coffers of the Italian Pope. About the time of Clement's death an earnest desire to end the schism animated the French Church, and even the cardinals of Avignon. Each cardinal promised in case of his elevation to sacrifice his own title, if required, provided Boniface also resigned. But the Spaniard who succeeded Clement, with the title Benedict XIII., A.D. 1394, gave the lie to his profuse professions by discountenancing all pacific efforts. The University of Paris suggested that both Popes should abdicate, and a fresh election be made, and this course was recommended by the French King and Church, and by the Emperor Wenzel. Spain, England, Hungary, Bohemia, and Sicily were prepared to accept it. But both Popes refused to resign. Benedict's obstinacy in this matter at last provoked the meeting of the French Estates at Paris (A.D. 1398), which decided to withdraw allegiance from the Avignon Pope. Political complications, however, favoured Benedict, and in 1403 he was still the Pope of France and Spain. Boniface's death, 1404, was followed by the short and troubled reign of Innocent VII., to whom succeeded Gregory XII., pledged like Benedict to resign if required.

We now review the general history of the Church. It was the century of Crecy and Poitiers. The subservience of the Popes to France had necessarily shattered the prestige of the Papacy in England. Our country protested loudly against the levy of annates and other Papal dues, as well as against the tenure of benefices by foreigners. Two noted anti-papal statutes were

Papal Authority  
weakened in  
England.  
Statutes of  
Provisors and  
Præmunire.

passed under Edward III. The Statute of Provisors, 1351, demanded that the Pope should not interfere by "provision" with the freedom of episcopal elections. The Præmunire statute of 1353 forbade the transfer to a foreign tribunal of matters cognisable in the King's courts. More legislation of similar tendency followed. The great Præmunire statute of 1393 outlawed all subjects who should procure from the Pope bulls, instruments, etc., affecting the crown or the realm. These were strong assertions of national independence. But collusion between the sovereign and the pontiff frequently deprived such Acts of all practical force.

From England, too, comes the first great exponent of doctrinal reform. Wyclif, a learned Oxonian, who in 1366 urged the refusal of the tribute to which King John had pledged England, had arrived at conclusions very similar to those maintained by our sixteenth-century reformers. The Pope was to Wyclif no more Christ's vicar than the emperor was. Priestly absolution was the declaration of pardon to the truly contrite. The two sacraments of Christ's own institution he put on a higher level than the other five. The whole system of objective worship was lifeless in Wyclif's estimation, without the sacrifice of the heart and the regulation of the conscience. But the chief curse of Christendom, this fourteenth-century reformer declared to be the friars, who intercepted the alms due to the poor, flattered the vices of the rich, invaded parochial rights, and overrode all principle in their quest of proselytes. Wyclif was doubtless stirred by

The English  
reformer, Wy-  
clif.



the insidious practices of the friars at Oxford, where boys of promise were induced to join the brotherhoods in defiance of their parents, and where the number of students had consequently much declined. To counteract the friars, Wyclif instituted his own preaching brotherhood of "poor priests." The social system of Wyclif was one which disparaged rights of property, and the high-principled reformer was unfortunately befriended by the grasping anti-Church faction of John of Gaunt. This alliance and the extravagant language in which his social theories were expressed, marred his efforts to effect practical changes in the Church. Yet both in England and abroad Wyclif exercised a permanent influence. One of his greatest achievements was the circulation of an English translation of the Scriptures, cir. 1380-3. Shortly afterwards Wyclif boldly attacked the central point of the objective system of religion. He declared that the theologians of four hundred years had erred in respect to the doctrine and use of the Eucharist. Sweeping aside the dogma of transubstantiation and the pretentious edifice erected thereon, he insisted that the real Presence of Christ was conveyed "virtually, spiritually, and sacramentally," but not "substantially." It is easy to trace from this distinction that reshaping of ideas which at length found expression in our Liturgy, Articles, and Catechism. But the sacramental teaching of Wyclif was in his lifetime most ungrateful to the educated classes, already perhaps alienated by the peasants' insurrection, and the violent diatribes of John Ball. Oxford expelled him; Archbishop Courtenay condemned him as a heretic;



even Lancaster urged him to recant. But Wyclif maintained his position—"On this point all have erred but Berengarius"—and strangely enough maintained it with impunity. He appears to have been cited by Urban VI. to answer for his opinions at Rome. He died, however, unmolested in his enjoyment of Lutterworth rectory. It is difficult to assign to this reformer's writings their respective dates. But to his Lutterworth days, 1382-4, probably belong the pamphlets, "On the Schism," "Against the Pope's Crusade," and the most pronounced of his doctrinal treatises, "The Trialogue."

As in the sixteenth, so in the fourteenth century, the cause of reformation was impeded by the extravagance of its pretended fautors. The "Lollards," who professed to follow Wyclif, for the most part emphasised the destructive elements in their master's system, and England shortly found itself aflame with socialist frenzy. It was easy to extend Wyclif's dislike of ecclesiastical endowments to other tenures of property. The barons and knights began to fear lest they should be reformed along with the clergy. A strong class feeling rose against Wyclif's innovations, and against the circulation of vernacular Scriptures among the vulgar. The accession of a sovereign whose weak title necessitated an alliance with the upper classes, was marked by the statute "*De hæreticis comburendis*," which required the sheriff to burn such Lollard preachers as should refuse to recant, 1400. By this statute, and a supplementary Act of Henry V., provoked by the revolutionary movement of Sir John Oldcastle, the

The Anarchical  
Lollards.  
Wyclif's Bible  
prohibited.

reforming movement was suppressed. Wyclif's Bible was prohibited by the "Constitutions" of Archbishop Arundel (1408). The same enactment forbade all preaching unlicensed by the diocesan, and thus muzzled both the friars and their worst enemies.

Wyclif's writings found their way to the University of Prague, and did much to foster the Bohemian movement which brought Hus and Jerome to the stake. The Bohemian Movement begins. Already mechanical religion had been attacked by Conrad of Waldhausen, a Canon of Prague, who, like Wyclif, was embroiled with the friars, but died unmolested, 1369. The visionary Militz, Archdeacon of Prague, had so boldly denounced ecclesiastical abuses, that he was cited to Avignon by Gregory XI., but had died while his case was pending. Matthias of Janow, the Emperor's confessor, who exposed the friars in "The Abomination of Desolation," and was censured but not silenced by a synod at Prague in 1388, is noticeable as advocating the daily communion of the laity, and making Scripture the only source of religious knowledge. But the real initiator of the Bohemian Reformation was John Hus (b. 1369), who when at Prague University was diverted from a rigid formalism by reading Wyclif's works. He became Rector of the University in 1402, and synodal preacher, and in the latter capacity made himself conspicuous for vehement denunciation of ecclesiastical abuses. Hus took special exception to the abuse of excommunication, and the sale of indulgences, but he did not accept Wyclif's view of the Eucharist. He maintained to the last the dogma of transubstantiation. His career,

and that of Jerome his supporter, a layman of noble family, will be noticed hereafter.

We have yet to describe the Mystic or Quietist movement in Germany. Henry Eckart, The Quietists. the Dominican provincial in Saxony, cir. 1304, had advocated a pietism of Neo-Platonist character, which, though condemned by Pope John XXII., largely influenced the devout thinkers of this century. Of these the most famous was the "Illuminated Doctor," John Tauler, also a Dominican. Tauler's system combined religious mysticism with the life of Christian duty. He gave offence in the great year of pestilence, 1348, by ministering to the sufferers in Strasburg despite the Papal interdict. The evangelical tone of his sermons afterwards won the admiration of Luther. Henry von Berg, called Suso (d. 1365), was a Dominican of Constance, who, after a life of severe asceticism attained a higher wisdom, embodied in the principle of self-abandonment to the Divine will. Ruysbroek, the "Ecstatic Doctor" (d. 1381), taught a similar system in Belgium, and laid claim to a full personal inspiration. Gerson, to whom the "Imitation of Christ" has been ascribed, appears to have modified the extravagances of Ruysbroek, and tried to unite quietist devotion with scholasticism. In 1395 Gerson became Chancellor of Paris, and during the next ten years he takes a prominent part in the attempt to end the Papal schism. In his tracts Gerson claims for the Church, even for the faithful laity, the right of convoking General Councils without Papal instigation. He holds that in case of necessity the Church can subsist without any visible

head. These views were practically endorsed by the Council of Constance, in its enunciation of the superiority of councils to Popes.

The fourteenth century completed the Canon Law of the Church. Clement V. ordered the determinations of the Council of Vienne Canon Law Completed. and certain decrees of his own to be collected in five books. These were sanctioned in a consistory of cardinals in 1313. The "Clementines" are the last authorised addition, though the decretals of the learned John XXII. and of other Popes are also included in the Canon Law under the title "Extravagants."

The old struggle with respect to the immunity of clerical criminals seems in this century to have drifted to a conclusion unfavourable The Clerical Status. to the ecclesiastics. Richard II. condemned Archbishop Arundel to exile. In the next century Henry IV. tried and executed certain Franciscans and priests, who conspired against him. Henry V.'s offence in beheading Archbishop Scrope was lightly treated by Gregory XII. France furnishes instances equally significant. The constant use of *commendams* by the Popes of this age put vast wealth and power in the hands of a few favoured prelates. Their revenues contrasted shamefully with those of the parochial clergy. It was one of the crying scandals of the time that, while some clergy were greater than secular princes, others were in a more abject condition than the lowest menials.

This century witnessed the conversion of the last heathen European nation of consequence. The Polish heiress, Hedwig, married Jagello, king of Lithuania,

on the condition that his territories should be united with Poland, and his subjects be baptised, Conversion of Lithuania. A.D. 1382. Jagello, who took the baptismal name Ladislaus, was active in his attempts to convert the people, and himself travelled about, teaching the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue. It is said, however, that the worship of fire and of serpents lingered in this region in the fifteenth century.

Relations of the Eastern and Western Churches. Andronicus' Mission of Barlaam. The relations between West and East were embittered by the failure of the efforts of Gregory X. The reconciliation of A.D. 1274 was speedily followed by open hostilities. Popes Benedict XI. and Clement V. incited Charles of Valois to claim the Eastern Empire, and Clement tried to give the project the sanctity of a crusade. Later on, we find overtures made by the Eastern Emperor Andronicus, prompted however only by fear of a Turkish invasion. This business brought to the court at Avignon the Calabrian monk Barlaam, 1339. Benedict XII., however, declined to allow the differences of the two Churches to be again submitted to a council. He insisted that the Greeks should renounce their errors and receive instruction in the Western faith. The mission, therefore, produced no results.

Barlaam's name is connected with the strange Barlaam and the Hesychastic Controversy. "Hesychastic" controversy of the East. The question in this dispute concerned the quietist monks of Mount Athos, who professed to gain visions of the Divine radiance by prolonged

introspection. It was debated, not whether the visions of these Hesychasts were real, but whether the radiance was part of the Godhead or a "creature." Barlaam and his pupil, Acindynus, argued against the Hesychasts, that the illumination of the Saviour's body at His transfiguration could not be uncreated or Divine, for "no man hath seen God at any time." But a synod at Constantinople, called by some Greeks the ninth General Council, sided with Barlaam's chief opponent, the Hesychast Palamas, and a subsequent assembly there in 1350 declared that the light of the Transfiguration was uncreated, though not of the Divine *ousia*. This synod excommunicated Barlaam and Acindynus, and declared them incapable of forgiveness.

More negotiations between the two sides of Christendom took place, cir. 1350. Eastern Negotiations with the Papacy renewed. Cantacuzene. John Palæologus. Cantacuzene, the usurping domestic who secured his throne by admitting the Ottomans into Europe, was eager for a reunion of the Churches. His overtures to Clement VI. were, however, broken off by the Pope's death, and his own expulsion shortly followed (1355). The legitimate sovereign, John Palæologus, was son of the Western princess, Anne of Savoy. He signalled his restoration by making more conciliatory advances to Rome than had yet come from the Byzantine court. He professed his own conversion to the Western faith, did homage to Urban V. in St. Peter's, A.D. 1369, and signed the formulæ of Western Christendom. But Urban in vain invited the powers of Europe to help John against the Turks, who but for



Bajazet's defeat by Timur at the battle of Angora, in 1402, would have probably given the final blow to the Byzantine empire.

Farther east, Christianity was being pushed aside by Mahommedanism, the religion of the Decline of Christianity farther east. conquering Mongols. In China, cir. 1369, an expulsion of the Mongols was followed by a jealous exclusion of all foreigners, and the extinction of the Franciscan mission. Timur, the great conqueror, conformed to Islam. Soon a few scattered communities, chiefly Nestorian, alone represented Asiatic Christianity.

In point of doctrine and ceremonial this century contributed few novelties to the Western Church. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception made its way, impugned only Church Dogma stereotyped. Universal cry for Reform. by the Dominicans, who from 1387 to 1401 were excluded from Paris University for their opposition. Some more festivals relating to the life of the Virgin were now added. Thomas Aquinas' doctrine of Indulgences received authoritative Papal sanction in Clement's bull relative to the Jubilee of 1350. The licensed quæstuaries, or stationers, continued to drive their trade, but both the graces and the censures of the Papal court were held cheap in public estimation. Though more than a century was to pass before the purgation of the Church was effected, the cry for it was already general, and waxed louder until the failure of the Councils of Constance and Basle induced the silence of despondency. "In all varieties of shapes a desire for reform was expressed:—in the treatises of such theologians as Gerson, d'Ailly, and



Nicholas of Clémanges ; in the solemn verse of Dante, and in the indignant letters of Petrarch ; in popular poems, stories, and satires, such as the ‘*Songe du Vergier*,’ the free tales of Boccaccio, the downright invectives of Piers the Ploughman, and the living pictures of Chaucer ; in the critical spirit which grew up within the universities ; in the teaching of Wyclif, Hus, and their followers ; in the utterances of men and women whose sanctity was believed to be accompanied by the gift of prophecy.”

## CHAPTER XV.

### FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., fairly wearied out their respective supporters with their evasions and subterfuges. Neither would resign unconditionally, and each, as the clamour for a General Council waxed louder, launched excommunications on those who should attend it. Disgust with their own candidates finally drew together the cardinals of Rome and Avignon, and both parties, with the support of the Universities of Florence, Bologna, and Paris, issued a summons for a council.

In March, 1409, twenty-two cardinals and a host of prelates, divines, and royal and capitular representatives met in Pisa Cathedral. England (which had availed itself of the schism to detain the revenues due to the Pope), sent at the head of its proxies Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, with a gravamen. This denounced certain flagrant abuses in the national Church, viz. the appropriation of benefices by grasping statesmen and prelates, the non-residence of bishops, the sale of Papal favours, the exemption of monasteries from episcopal control. The verdict of the council overrode Hildebrand's principle

The Popes  
prolong the  
Schism.

Council of Pisa.  
Deposition  
of the Popes.

that the Pope is exempt from all earthly judgment, save in the case of manifest heresy. Both Popes had refused to attend, and vented their spleen by convening opposition councils, Benedict at Perpignan, Gregory at Cividale. Both, therefore, were condemned to be stripped of all dignities as having scandalised the Church by their contumacy, falsehood, and encouragement of schism. Their excommunications were annulled; their appointments since May, 1408, declared void. The Council demanded the aid of the secular powers in case of their continued contumacy.

The next task was the election of a pontiff who should command the full allegiance of the West. The choice of the cardinals Alexander V.  
Bull in favour  
of the Friars. fell on Philargi, Archbishop of Milan, a Franciscan who had preached at the opening of the Council. Philargi assumed the title Alexander V. The Franciscan Pope was of blameless life and studious habits. But his career was unsatisfactory. He disgusted the Church by a bull authorising the Franciscans, Augustinians and Carmelites to receive tithes, hear confessions, and celebrate the sacraments in all parts of Christendom. Not only were the clergy thus deprived of their peculiar prerogatives; they were charged to read the offensive document publicly, under pain of being treated as heretics. Everywhere the enactment was received with indignation. Paris University at once expelled all mendicant friars from her walls, and the French king practically cancelled the bull by a royal proclamation. Alexander died next year, and the bull was revoked by his successor John XXIII., 1410.

The new Pope was a depraved grasping Neapolitan, who had been Papal chamberlain at Rome, John XXIII. and had fostered the worst abuses of the indulgence market. His career was disgraceful and his elevation is unexplainable. Ladislaus, King of Naples, had executed two of the Pope's brothers as pirates. He moreover maintained the claims of Gregory XII. despite the Council of Pisa. John, having vainly decreed his excommunication and deposition, himself headed an expedition into southern Italy. This, though at first attended with success, brought Ladislaus in triumph to Rome in 1411. The Pope fled to Bologna, and put himself under the protection of Sigismund, the most powerful emperor since Frederic II. It was at Sigismund's instigation that he co-operated in citing the General Council of Constance, which proved so fatal to himself, 414-18.

The council was professedly summoned to complete the reunion of Western Christendom, to Council of Constance judges John XXIII. effect ecclesiastical reform, and to suppress heretical teaching. It opened November 5th, 1414. It was well attended, its numbers including four patriarchs, twenty-nine cardinals, and some seven hundred bishops, abbots, doctors, and provosts. D'Ailly and Gerson were among the French representatives; of the eight English bishops the most prominent was Hallam. The anti-popes were allowed to send deputies. For awhile John was supreme at Constance. The Council riveted its attention on the heretics of Bohemia, with results which will be noticed hereafter. Gradually, however, the Fathers of Constance realised that to

secure unity, orthodoxy, or reform, the depraved Head of Christendom must himself be uprooted. A paper of charges so black that they had to be discussed secretly, was produced against the Pope, Feb. 1415. The rule of voting by "nations" prevented the Italians from screening their eminent countryman. Three of the four nations—the German, French, and English—insisted on the deposition of John XXIII. The Pope now surprised and delighted the assembly by promising to resign. He only stipulated that Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. should also withdraw their claims to the pontificate. But this was a mere device to gain time. John's final expedient was to try to break up the Council. He fled in disguise to Schaafhausen, and there protested against the management of affairs at Constance—the tyranny of the Emperor, the ascendancy of the English and Germans, the admission of laymen on an equality with the hierarchy.

But only five cardinals joined the Pope at Schaafhausen. The Council decided that its procedure was not invalidated by John's absence. At Gerson's instance, and with the concurrence of all save the Italian cardinals, it confirmed the Pisa procedure by distinctly subordinating the Papacy to General Councils, March, 1415. The Pope is declared to be bound by conciliar enactments. A Council can meet, if necessary, without Papal sanction; can determine a reformation of the Church; can even command the resignation of a Pope. Councils should be held periodically, as being the supreme and irrefragable exponents of the Church's

Councils  
declared superior  
to Popes. The  
three Popes  
dealt with.

requirements. Thus fortified, the assembly proceeded to deal with the three claimants of the tiara. John XXIII. was pronounced contumacious for refusing to return to Constance. The horrible charges against him were discussed, and he was declared to be deposed from the Papacy. He was apprehended, committed to the charge of the Elector Palatine, and relegated to the castle of Heidelberg. He obtained release and made submission to the new Pope in 1417. Gregory XII. tendered his resignation in July, 1415. He was allowed to hold office as Cardinal-Bishop of Porto, and have precedence in the Sacred College. Benedict XIII., on the other hand, held out in Spain. The Emperor vainly went to negotiate with him at Perpignan. He succeeded, however, in detaching his supporters, and in 1417 the kingdoms of the Peninsula joined the other nations of the Council in deposing the Spanish Pope as a fautor of schism and heresy.

The assembly now engaged in a protracted dispute whether the election of a new Pope should precede or follow measures of reform. Election of Martin V., who hinders measures of reform. The former alternative unfortunately prevailed. It was decided that thirty conciliar delegates should join the cardinals in the work of election. A dignified and irreproachable cardinal, Otto of Colonna, obtained an overwhelming majority of votes. The decision was accepted with enthusiasm by all at Constance, and Colonna was installed with more than usual pomp as Pope Martin V., November, 1417. But again Christendom was disappointed in its head. The Council had postponed measures of reform; its new master at once posed as a reactionist. The Papal

Chancery was generally and justly regarded as the hotbed of the worst abuses in the Church. Martin immediately issued a brief confirming its present status. Reservations, Annates, Dispensations, Commendams, Indulgences, were all to escape the pruning-knife. The Papal brief spoke with authority: and this authority was derived from the Council itself. The Parliament was superseded by the autocrat of its choice. The Council of Constance dragged on, but Martin, not Sigismund, was its president, and the Pope used every expedient to stave off measures of reform. He utilised national jealousies. He made concordats with each nation separately. Petty concessions as to patronage, tithes, and national representation in the Sacred College were all that these concordats granted. At Whitsuntide, 1418, the Council dissolved, leaving every pretentious canon and decretal of the Popes of Hildebrand's school unrepealed. Western Christendom was united but it remained unreformed. There was yet one hope—a delusive one as it proved. It was ruled that General Councils should be held every five years. Something might be done for the reform of the Church at the Council to be held at Pisa in 1423.

The third purpose of the gathering at Constance has yet to be noticed. The Council had to deal with the heresies of Bohemia. The Bohemian heresies.

Hus and Jerome appeared before it. Since our last mention of Hus, his party at Prague had lost repute. The University had issued a sweeping condemnation of Wyclif's writings. Archbishop Zbynko had joined the reactionists, condemned the works of the English reformer to the flames, even excommunicated Hus



and his associates, 1410. Hus, however, continued to preach, and was befriended by Wenzel, the deposed Emperor, now King of Bohemia. Both parties had appealed to John XXIII. The Pope of course sided with the reactionists, and the reforming delegates to Bologna had been imprisoned and maltreated. In 1412 Prague received the bull proclaiming the crusade against Ladislaus, with the usual indulgences. The document became a text for the Hussite preachers. Jerome burnt the bull. Hus, despite Wenzel's prohibitions, inveighed incessantly against the corruptions of the Papacy, and his writings were spreading fast throughout Europe. To this time belongs the treatise "Of the Church," the most important of his works. A Roman Council now excommunicated him and interdicted every place that should receive him.

Hus had himself frequently demanded a General Council. He came willingly to Constance, Trial and Execution of Hus. attended by Bohemian nobles, armed with high testimonials of character and orthodoxy, above all with a safe conduct from Sigismund himself. He had failed to realise the unfavourable character of this assemblage. To secure attention to practical abuses, the reforming party at Constance had to dissociate their cause from all suspicion of heresy. Doctrinal changes were no part of their programme. The reformers Gerson and d'Ailly themselves sided with Hus' enemies. John XXIII. was as yet supreme at the Council. He contrived that Hus should be imprisoned in a noisome dungeon, November, 1414. Sigismund, at first indignant, did not insist on his

release. It was not till six months had lapsed, and John had fled from Constance, that the intervention of John de Chlum and other friends secured him a trial. Hus' case was prejudiced by the unmeasured falsehoods of Michael de Causis, the Papal proctor, and Stephen Palecz, a renegade Hussite; also by the Council's previous condemnation (May, 1415) of Wyclif's doctrines. Hus, however, protested that he did not altogether agree with Wyclif. He did not disparage tithes or question Constantine's donation. He did not repudiate the dogma of transubstantiation. For awhile an acquittal or a light sentence of penance seemed probable. But his foes carried the inquiry into the perilous province of predestination. From limiting the true Church to the predestined, Hus was drawn into an admission that tenures, lay as well as spiritual, were cancelled by mortal sin. "A king in mortal sin is no king before God." It was natural that Sigismund himself should declare such assertions worthy of death. Yet the Council still kept open the gate of recantation, even that of qualified submission. But Hus' conscience spurned such means of escape. He would not even formally abjure what had been falsely imputed to him. After another month in prison, he was condemned as a heretic in the presence of Sigismund, and degraded from the priesthood. He was then burnt in a meadow outside the town of Constance, July, 1415.

Jerome, like Hus, had little realised his peril. He had voluntarily sought Constance with the purpose of helping his friend. He had been arrested at Hirschau, imprisoned, and treated

**Trial and  
Execution of  
Jerome.**

with cruel severities. Worn out by hardships, Jerome was brought before the Council in Sept., 1415. A partial condemnation of the errors of Wyclif and Hus was wrung from him. But fresh charges were concocted, fresh abjurations required by Michael and Stephen Palecz. The story is very similar to that of our own Cranmer's end. Jerome, whose final defence exhibited great skill and learning, revoked his disclaimers, and declared his acceptance of all the new doctrines except Wyclif's view of the Eucharist. He refused to make further concessions, and perished at the stake with great fortitude, May, 1416.

The pontificate of Martin V. was regarded afterwards as a golden age by the Romans. Martin V. adorns Rome; his exactions in France and England. He rescued the city from the anarchy and wretchedness consequent on the schism, restored churches, erected streets and public buildings, and so distinguished his rule by vigour and justice as to earn the title of Rome's third founder. Abroad he bore a different reputation. Martin clung to every shred of the hated Papal prerogatives, and specially favoured France and England with encroachments on national right. The young king, Charles VII., was persuaded, in spite of Gerson's remonstrances, to surrender the liberties of the French Church, in 1425. In England, Martin's use of provisions and commendams almost outran all precedent. Thirteen invasions of capitular rights occurred in two years in the southern province of this Church. Martin's boy-nephew, Prosper Colonna, became Archdeacon of Canterbury, and a great effort was made to establish a resident legate *à latere* as a foil to the

national primate. But despite the weakness of the throne, Beaufort of Winchester, the Papal legate, was reduced by the royal council to impotency. The "execrable" statutes of Provisors and Præmunire outlived the Pope's denunciations, and Archbishop Chicheley, when suspended for his opposition to Papal exemptions and adhesion to the national cause, only appealed to a General Council.

It need not be said that Councils were not to Martin's mind. The appointed Council at Pavia had, however, been reluctantly <sup>Failure of</sup> Council of Pavia. summoned in 1423. It was at once transferred to Sienna, in consequence of a pestilence. Few besides Italians attended it, and its work was limited to a condemnation of the insurgent Hussites. When the question of reform was raised, Martin dissolved the Council as too small to discuss such weighty matters. It was prorogued by the Pope for seven years, and was then to meet at Basle.

Affairs in Bohemia had assumed an importance that dwarfed all ordinary matters of <sup>The Utraquist</sup> controversy. The fate of Hus and Jerome <sup>Rising in</sup> Bohemia. had here aroused intense indignation. The Bohemians had instituted an anniversary to commemorate their martyrdom, and Wenzel with difficulty prevented a general insurrection. When to the friend of Hus there succeeded his betrayer, Wenzel's brother, Sigismund, the populace rose to repudiate the hated sovereign, 1419. The revolt became a religious war—a war against sacerdotalism—rivalling the Albigensian crusade in its barbarous cruelty, outdoing our own Puritan war in its fanatical misapplications of the

Hebrew Scriptures. On one point all the Hussite sects were united. The Constance Council—the destroyer of Hus—had formally sanctioned the practice of administering the consecrated wafer of the Eucharist without the wine. As the Church had changed the law of the Holy Supper, so (it was argued) might she change the mode of administration. This decree of the hated Council was made the special object of attack, and the Bohemian malcontents, as demanding administration in both elements, were known as “Utraquists.” Ziska, who headed the insurrection, displayed on his banners the Eucharistic Cup. The enterprise was hallowed by the celebrated open-air communion of “Tabor,” where 42,000 Hussites received the sacramental wine in wooden chalices at the hands of unvested clergy.

Two obscure Bohemians proved themselves in the next twelve years the greatest generals Utraquists victorious under Ziska and Procopius. of the age. Fierce and pitiless as any warrior of Islam, the one-eyed Ziska carried fire and sword throughout Bohemia, massacring clergy and monks, burning churches and convents. His destructive march left the land a desert, and effaced for ever the glories of its ecclesiastical architecture. Under Ziska a peasant force, at first armed only with scythes and flails, routed repeatedly European armies of 100,000 or 200,000 men. Vainly did Martin and Sigismund proclaim a crusade, and raise fresh troops by dint of indulgences and heavy taxes. The Emperor had to fly from Prague. He was badly defeated at Wyschebrad, at Saaz, at Deutschbrod, 1421–22. The four Articles of Prague

were drawn up, and this formula of Utraquism was accepted by the Archbishop of Prague himself. The great Bohemian leader died of pestilence, 1424. But the Hussite priest, Procopius, took his place and proved himself as good a general as Ziska. The Hussites no longer acted on the defensive. They advanced on the west, they ravaged Austria, Hungary, Saxony, burnt Coburg and Bayreuth. Twice were huge crusading armies marched against Procopius, to fly almost without striking a blow. Sigismund gave up all hope of reducing Bohemia. It elected its own sovereign, secured the aims of the "Utraquists" at the Council of Basle, and fortunately for the peace of Europe, became embroiled with intestine disputes. The wars of the Utraquists with the "Taborites," or anarchical Hussites, need not be described. Eventually the Utraquists and the Romanists divided Bohemia on terms of mutual toleration. Practically the range of the Bohemian Reformation was limited by the Confession of Kuttenberg, 1441. Besides claiming the sacrament in both elements, this formula demands that it be administered to children as well as adults. It insists on services in the vernacular, and abolition of clerical celibacy. But it maintains the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the elevation of the host, and certain other mediæval innovations.

We must now describe the proceedings at Basle, 1431-49. Eugenius IV., a narrow-  
 minded reactionist, used every effort to  
 upset this Council. Comparatively few  
 prelates and university deputies attended. England

Council of Basle;  
 coerces  
 Eugenius IV.:  
 attacks Papal  
 Aggressions.



was not represented till 1433, and afterwards attached itself to the rival Council at Ferrara. An Englishman however, one Peter Payne, was prominent in the Hussite deputation, which included the great priest-warrior Procopius himself. The concession to the Bohemian insurgents was avowedly granted to save Germany from their inroads. The Council ceded the full communion, on condition the Hussite preachers should explain to their people that Christ was contained entire in each element. Against Eugenius, who had pronounced the Council's dissolution, the divines of Basle contended, with their predecessors at Constance, that Councils were superior to Popes. They even peremptorily ordered the Pope's attendance. Eugenius thought it best to withdraw the bull of dissolution and to send legates to the Council. They were admitted after swearing that "all men" were subject to conciliar authority. The Council proceeded to pass decrees for freedom of ecclesiastical elections. In so doing it denounced the familiar Papal machinery—reservations, annates, expectative appointments, usurpations of patronage. It also laid down severe rules as to the election of Popes, and their conduct in office.

Eugenius was thus goaded to renew his opposition. Election of Felix V. Decay of Council. In 1437 he availed himself of an embassy from the Greek Church, to declare the necessity of transferring the Council to Italy. An assemblage was accordingly convened at Ferrara, which excommunicated the divines of Basle. But the Basle Council not only pronounced that at Ferrara schismatical, but suspended the Papal office itself in



its own favour. Encouraged by the support of its reforming decrees in France and Germany, it at last (1439), under the guidance of its sole cardinal, Lewis, Archbishop of Arles, pronounced the Pope deposed as "contumacious, . . . incorrigibly schismatical, and obstinately heretical." In imitation of the Council of Constance it provided for the election of the new Pope by associating with the Cardinal Archbishop of Arles, thirty-two members of all the nations, and from all classes. The electors chose Amadeus, who had resigned the Duchy of Savoy to become Dean of the Knight-hermits of Ripaille. Amadeus, the last of the anti-Popes, was crowned at Basle (1440) with the title Felix V. But neither in France nor Germany were these extreme measures popular. The reforming cardinal, Cusanus, who had already joined Eugenius at Ferrara, pointed out that only seven bishops had deposed the Pope, whereas twelve were required to depose a Bishop. Neither the French king nor the new Emperor, Frederic III., acknowledged Felix. The anti-pope himself cared as little for the Papal tiara as for the crown of Savoy. The Council lost its leading members and sunk in repute. It was lifeless long before its formal dissolution in 1449. Respecting its œcumenical character, in part or throughout, there is diversity of opinion in the Roman Church.

The rival Council at Ferrara (afterwards adjourned to Florence) is notable for a fresh attempt to end the schism of East and West. John Palæologus II., who was anxious to protect himself against the Turks, by a Western alliance, was courted by both the Councils. Eventually

Rival Council  
at Ferrara.  
Coercion of the  
Greek Deputies.

he went with his Patriarch and numerous ecclesiastics to Ferrara, and Eugenius made the most of this triumph. Four chief errors were ascribed to the Greeks. They concerned the procession of the Holy Spirit ; purgatory ; the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist ; the primacy of the Pope. The Emperor was persuaded that the Pope could supply subsidies for the defence of Constantinople. He accordingly sold the faith of the East to Eugenius. The Greek prelates, with the connivance of John, were starved, coerced, and harassed, both at Ferrara and at Florence, till they had all accepted Eugenius' terms of pacification. The four points were settled, not so much in favour of Roman Christianity as might have been anticipated. But it was a manifest surrender of the Greek position, and the deputies returned home in shame, to find the compromise indignantly disowned. From Florence Eugenius translated the Council to Rome, 1443, where he made a great show of receiving into communion certain Copts, Jacobites, Maronites, and Armenians.

Eugenius was strengthened by the apostasy of *Piccolomini* Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who deserted the reforming party to become the Pope's Secretary, and eventually Pope himself.

In 1446 Eugenius went so far as to excommunicate the Archbishops of Treves and Cologne for their part in the Council of Basle. But their brother electors resented this as an indignity. They were preparing to cast off their neutrality, and acknowledge the anti-pope, when Æneas came to Frankfort to act as mediator. By dint of forgery and bribes this skilled

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

diplomatist effected a concordat between Eugenius and the Empire. The Pope accepted all the Constance decrees and some of those passed at Basle. He forgave all who had taken part in the latter Council. The Diet acknowledged Eugenius as St. Peter's representative. This Pope died soon afterwards. His successor, Nicholas V. 1447, was fortunately a man of liberal views and conciliatory temper. He confirmed the concordat, and propitiated Felix's supporters by making the former anti-Pope head of the Sacred College. Æneas continued to be the Papal Secretary. He secured from the Empire, by renewed bribery, a reversal of the Basle decree with reference to the Papal malpractices. Annates and Reservations were resumed, with slight modification, and Germany became again subject to the burdens which she had been struggling against for thirty years.

Nicholas was a patron of learning. The literary impulse which was destined to turn the current of reformation into a new channel begins with this pontificate. The fall of Constantinople, 1453, however disastrous to Christianity, greatly assisted the intellectual movement. The Greek fugitives found a ready welcome in Italy, and by the revival of Greek letters the protracted supremacy of the Schoolmen was gradually undermined. Nicholas himself enriched the Vatican library with 5000 MSS., and the researches of his *literati* brought to light many classical treasures. The movement was soon to receive unexpected facilities in the general use of the printing-press. Even thus early we find the "New Learning" menacing the bulwarks of Popery,

The Revival of  
Letters under  
Nicholas V.

for Valla, one of its luminaries, skilfully exposed the fictitious Donation of Constantine. Valla had narrowly escaped the Inquisition under Eugenius IV. Nicholas V., however, had no such professional zeal. He made the scholarly innovator his private secretary. The Pope patronised art as well as literature. Painters, sculptors, and architects now flocked to Rome. The new cathedral of St. Peter's was in contemplation; the Pantheon was being restored. In the provincial towns splendid buildings were erected. These useful works were aided by the jubilee of the half-century, which was more successful in the indulgence traffic than any jubilee since 1300. Frederic III.'s coronation in 1452 is noticeable as the last occasion when an emperor was crowned at Rome. Nicholas died while his agents, Piccolomini and John of Capistrano, were inciting Europe to a crusade for the recovery of Constantinople, 1455.

To this business Calixtus IV. devoted all his energies. A force of 40,000 men, raised by Calixtus IV. and the Crusade. Capistrano's eloquence, and led by Hu- niades, succeeded in driving the Turks from Belgrade with great loss in 1456. But the success only confirmed Europe in its attitude of apathetic indifference, and the Emperor's grant of the crusading tithe excited a vehement opposition in Germany. Calixtus' age and infirmities partly excuse the nepotism which disgraced this pontificate. Two nephews, Peter and Roderick Borgia, were loaded with benefices and honours, and corrupted Rome by their flagrant mal-administration.

Piccolomini, who to his diplomatic ability joined

other and more respectable talents, was now elevated, with the title of Pius II., 1458. To push the crusade he gathered a congress at Mantua, which is chiefly memorable for Pius' promulgation of the bull *Execrabilis*, 1460. This was a practical repudiation of the principle endorsed at Constance and Basle. It declared any appeal from a Pope to a Council to deserve excommunication or interdict. As Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the Secretary at Basle, the Pope had repeatedly justified this execrated practice. The inconsistency was explained away in the Pope's "Bull of Recantation," 1463, the keynote of which is "Reject Æneas, receive Pius." The old ideas as to Papal supremacy were emphasised in this pontificate. The versatile, worldly Æneas, became the exponent—the last exponent—of Hildebrand's ideal. The policy of the Pope was successful in France. Here the synod of Bourges, 1438, had gladly accepted the anti-papal procedure at Basle, and embodied it in the "Pragmatic Sanction." Annates and expectatives were abolished. Appeals to the Roman Court were limited; interference with rights of patronage was prohibited. Even abuse of excommunication and interdict was guarded against. But Lewis XI. expressed his hatred of his father by repealing the Pragmatic Sanction, 1461, and France was thus again laid open to Papal aggression. Pius II. continued to the end of his life to urge Europe to the crusade. He himself addressed a singular letter to Mohammed I., imploring him to exchange his religion for Christianity. But the project dropped with the accession of the coxcomb pontiff

Pius II. The Bull "Execrabilis," Repeal of Pragmatic Sanction.

Paul II., who is only memorable as the author of the existent carnival ceremonial.

With Sixtus IV. 1471-84, the Papacy enters on a new phase. It poses as a great secular power. Papal nepotism now grasps at temporal rather than ecclesiastical dignities, and establishes the Pope's relations as princes and nobles. This is perhaps the worst period of Papal history. Sixtus is chiefly noticeable for promotion of unworthy relatives, oppressive taxation, and disreputable life. To aid the aspirations of his nephew Jerome Riario at Florence, he compassed the conspiracy to assassinate the Medici, 1478. Its ignominious failure induced him to conduct a war against the Florentines. Their abject submission was only accepted when Ottoman successes called the Papal troops to the recovery of Otranto, 1480-81. A similar design to advance his family at Venice occupied Sixtus till his death. Under this Pope the minorite Friar, Francis of Paola, obtained a licence for his order of mendicant "Hermits," a brotherhood much befriended by the superstitious French king, Lewis XI. The older Franciscans having assumed the title "minorites," Francis, in the excess of humility, named his followers "minims." Sixtus' death was followed by the intrigues and demands of future favours, now customary on the part of the electing cardinals. The election raised to the pontificate Innocent VIII., 1484, who used the Papal revenues to provide handsomely for his seven illegitimate children. Violence and faction-war distracted Rome throughout his reign, and criminals of all sorts secured immunity by purchase.

The Secularising  
Popes,  
Sixtus IV.,  
Innocent VIII.,  
Alexander VI.



Innocent, however, was outdone by the unprincipled and immoral Roderic Borgia (Alexander VI.), who by lavish bribery obtained the pontificate in 1492. His bastard sons, Peter Lewis and Cæsar, were respectively made Duke of Benevento and Cardinal Archbishop of Valencia. The former was assassinated by the agents of his clerical brother in 1497. Lucretia, the Pope's daughter, after getting rid of three or four husbands, married Alfonso, the heir of Ferrara. To secure her son's position, the Duke of Sermoneta and his family were made away with. The Vatican was polluted by obscene revels at which Alexander and Lucretia themselves presided. The Sacred College was filled with puppets of the Papal tyrant. Cæsar Borgia secured a French duchy by providing the new French king, Lewis XII., with bulls for his divorce and re-marriage. Throwing off the clerical profession, this cardinal-archbishop became a layman, obtained the hand of Lewis' niece, and aided the French expedition against Naples with his matchless perfidy and inhumanity. In 1499 Cæsar effected the expulsion of the Papal vicars from the Romagna, and appropriated this part of the Church's patrimony. The Abbey of Subiaco, with its eighteen castles, were shortly added. The intimidated cardinals consented to these acts of spoliation. Under Alexander such old abuses as sales of offices, traffic in indulgences, and misappropriation of crusade funds, reached an excess hitherto unknown. The Pope's *jus exuviarum* itself became a deadly weapon. With an Alexander VI. for their heir, wealthy cardinals demised with amazing celerity.

Disreputable  
Pontificate of  
Alexander VI.



Meantime the frightful evils of the age had roused the voice of Savonarola at Florence. The career of this Dominican reformer illustrates the facility with which religious enthusiasm lapses into spiritual pride and self-deception. Yet his noble character and high aims almost blind us to the falsehood of his pretensions, and his overweening love of dominion. Savonarola, as prior, had effected a thorough reformation of St. Mark's monastery in 1491. He attempted a reformation of Florence itself, and soon gained celebrity by his eloquent denunciations of social vices. He included in his attack the æsthetic and literary tendencies of the Florentines, which he considered pernicious to the spiritual life. Like other religious leaders he claimed to see visions and utter prophecies. The fulfilment of some of his predictions soon raised him to a dangerous fame. Among Savonarola's measures for reforming Florence, the most singular was the transformation of the Carnival frivolities in 1496-7. The street boys were employed to demand of the citizens a surrender of their "vanities," and these were heaped in an immense pile and burnt. In Savonarola the patriotism of the republican blended with the religious zeal of the reformer, and to his influence the establishment of the Florentine constitution was chiefly due. His persistent antagonism to the Medici, whose faction was still powerful at Florence, largely accounts for his downfall. The repulsion natural between two such natures had already roused against Savonarola the suspicions of Alexander VI. A Papal agent was vainly sent to silence the preacher of righteousness

with an offer of promotion to the cardinalate. A pretext for excommunication was found in Savonarola's refusal to obey the Pope in respect to certain details of management at St. Mark's, 1497. Savonarola proceeded to denounce the exaggerated claims of the Papacy and the vices of the Roman Court. Against him were arrayed the Medici faction, the Franciscans, and most of the secular clergy. A curious feature in the struggle that ensued was the proposal to appeal to an ordeal of fire, such as the monk "Petrus igneus" had braved in the eleventh century. This challenge, offered by a Franciscan monk, was accepted by Savonarola, and representatives of his own and the antagonistic party were appointed. But at the last this singular arrangement fell through. The ordeal did not take place, and the mob, baulked of an expected spectacle, laid the blame on Savonarola. His persecutors availed themselves of its co-operation. St. Mark's was violently entered. The prior and his leading follower Dominic of Pescia were imprisoned and examined under torture. Rome vied with Florence to be the executioner of this enemy of social and ecclesiastical abuses. The Papal commissioners succeeded in conducting the final examination, but the punishment was on the scene of the offence. Save for his pretence to inspiration, Savonarola was manifestly guiltless of heterodoxy. To give colour to this groundless charge, the acts of the process were falsified. The great Florentine reformer was hanged and burnt, May, 1498, with Dominic and Sylvester Maruffi. His relics were eagerly sought by his adherents, and were credited with miraculous powers.

The discoveries of new regions in this century led to a vast extension of the domain of Christendom. On the principle that newly discovered lands belonged to Rome, Alexander VI. marked the boundary line of Spain and Portugal in America. We need not recount the atrocious cruelties by which these Christian nations enforced Catholicism on the New World throughout the century succeeding. In Africa the Portuguese explorations led to the foundation of the Congo settlement and the baptism of many natives, in 1484. The discovery of the Cape Passage also brought Western Christendom into acquaintance with the ancient Churches of Abyssinia and Malabar.

Nearer home, missionary zeal devoted itself to the Persecution of Jews and Mahommedans. The Inquisition had obtained royal sanction for the correction of heresy in Aragon and Castile, and some two thousand suspects were burnt under the grand Inquisitor Torquemada between 1481 and 1485. In 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella issued the order that all Jews should receive baptism or leave Spain. A similar order was issued against the Jews of Portugal somewhat later by King Emanuel. It is questionable which fared best, the harassed and plundered emigrants, or those who remained to attract the ceaseless suspicions of the inquisitors. Torquemada's zeal was rivalled by the exertions of the austere Franciscan Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, in proselytising the Moors. Some three thousand were persuaded or coerced by Ximenes to receive baptism in one day, 1499. The intolerance of

Ximenes (himself a man of letters), induced him to order the wholesale destruction of Arabic literature. The consequent revolt at Granada led to the decree of 1502, by which the Mahommedans were offered the same alternatives as the Jews.

Witchcraft in this century brought many to the stake. The Inquisition's organised assault on *Vauderie*, in Arras, 1459, exposed mal-  
The Inquisition checked in France.  
 practices of the usual grotesque character, and the victims of enforced confession were burnt, imprisoned, or fined. The French parliament, however, interfered to check these cruelties, and the indignation they excited led (cir. 1521) to the disappearance of the Inquisition from France.

The fanaticism of the earlier sectaries had now largely given place to the solid schemes  
Reformers and Religious Enthusiasm.  
 of such reformers as Wyclif and Hus. In England, however, the turbulent Lollards occasionally endangered government, and in Bohemia the Taborite ascendancy left behind the pernicious and immoral sect called "Fossarii." A few doctrinal reformers remain to be mentioned. John of Goch, prior of Mechlin (cir. 1450), seems to have anticipated Luther's doctrine of justification, but little is known of his career. John Reichrath of Oberwesel, was roused by the jubilee of 1450 to denounce the indulgence system. He became noted as an anti-papal preacher at Worms, and in 1479 was forced to make a retractation of errors. The charge alleges that he denied original sin, the double procession, episcopacy, clerical celibacy, and the merits of fasting. John Wessel was born at Groningen (cir. 1429), and

went from Cologne University to Paris, where he seems to have taught a system akin to Zwingle's rather than to Luther's. The latter, however, acknowledges him as his forerunner. John was styled by his admirers "the light of the world." He eventually withdrew to Holland, where the favour of the Dutch prelates sheltered him from all molestation (*d.* 1489). In England Reginald Pecock curiously blended extreme assertions of Papal right of taxation with a theology of an eclectic character. After the overthrow of the Duke of Suffolk, who had translated him from St. Asaph to Chichester, Pecock was impugned for novel doctrine and incitement to revolt. He was tried by Archbishop Bourchier, and saved himself from a heretic's death by an ignominious retractation of various errors at Paul's Cross, 1458. What his opinions were is uncertain. It would seem that he was convinced that Fathers and Councils had frequently erred. This would be sufficient basis for much factitious accusation.

Monasticism in this century gave birth, as we have seen, to the Order of Minims, which  
**Monasticism.** maintained a rule of extreme austerity, and planted many houses in Italy, France, and Spain. Discipline in the older systems had decayed, and attempts to renew it were by no means tamely suffered. The Benedictines of England, however, were partially reformed in 1421, and those of Germany underwent a purgation initiated at the monastery of Bursfeld. In Spain, Ximenes, as Provincial of his Order, effected a reform of the Franciscan convents, which was afterwards extended to other Orders, and to the secular clergy.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE poison he had prepared for a wealthy cardinal carried off Alexander VI. in 1503. The short pontificate of Pius III. need not be noticed. Julius II., 1503-13, rising above the selfish nepotism of his predecessors, laboured to extend and consolidate the dominions of the Papacy. He recovered the territories appropriated by Cæsar Borgia, made himself master of Bologna and Perugia, and, taking the field against the Venetians, added to St. Peter's domains Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio. To Julius succeeded John de Medici, with the title Leo X. 1513-22. The patron of Ariosto, Raphael, and Machiavelli, Leo surpassed Nicholas V. in promoting the cause of literature and art. But religious zeal was extinct at Rome during this pontificate. Philosophers disputed whether the soul had any individual existence; the fashionable classes affected infidelity; the cult of the lower orders was one of gross superstition and lifeless formalism.

Elsewhere, however, the old yearnings for pure Christianity were being strengthened by the printing-press and the literary renaissance. The circulation of the Scriptures had enabled

Decay of  
religion at  
Rome.

The two Refor-  
mations.—  
Luther.



many thoughtful and devout minds to contrast Mediæval Catholicism with the Christianity of the Apostolic Age, and the cause of Reformation only waited for fit leaders. Saxony and Switzerland, in Leo's reign, produced them. Mighty religious movements ensued, destined to affect every part of Western Christendom. We will first treat of the German Reformation, initiated at Wittenberg. Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar from Erfurt, had been appointed philosophical lecturer at Wittenberg in 1508. Disgusted with scholastic pedantries, and diverted from the mechanical system of the Church to the realities of the spiritual life within, Luther was at last provoked to open antagonism by the appearance of a Dominican friar hawking indulgences at Wittenberg, 1517. The skirmish with Tetzel brought him into conflict with higher personages. The customary complaint to the Pope followed, and at Augsburg Luther confronted the Papal Legate, Thomas Cajetan. By denying the existence of the meritorious treasury of the Church, Luther traversed a decision of Pope Clement VI. Of necessity he went on to impugn the Pontiff's supreme authority, which he declared to be limited by Scripture, the Fathers, the Councils, even by individual reason. These views were again enunciated at Leipzig, where Luther was opposed by the learned and eloquent Eck, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ingoldstadt. The Dominicans induced Leo X. to denounce the Reformer in a bull, 1520. But so strong was Luther's position that the document was ignominiously burnt at Wittenberg.



Luther's cause had already been joined by Martin Bucer, a Dominican of Alsace, and Philip Schwarzerd ("Melancthon"), an erudite <sup>Analysis of the New Theology.</sup> scholar who did much to systematize the German Reformation. The salient feature in the new theology was the association of Divine forgiveness with an internal impression of personal acceptance through the Saviour's grace, rather than with an external or ecclesiastical system. This impression Luther identified with the "justifying faith" of St. Paul's Epistles. He regarded it as a supernatural gift limited by God's preordained purpose. In their revolt from mediæval mechanism, the Lutherans were at first inclined to undervalue repentance as a condition, and good works as the fruit of justifying grace. But from this danger they were diverted by the scandalous excesses of the Anabaptists, to be noticed hereafter. In the place of ecclesiastical authority they set the Bible, which they styled the "Word of God." Nothing was necessary to salvation which could not be proved therefrom. This substitute for the shattered infallibility of the Church found place in all the Reforming systems of the sixteenth century. That the limits and interpretation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures could only be defined by literary tribunals, was a point obscured in the turmoil of religious warfare. Yet the first Reformers were no blind Bibliolaters. Luther, Melancthon, Ecolampadius, Carlstadt, and Calvin, all more or less impugned the *graphai antilegomenai*, and the great Saxon Reformer imitated Marcion in demarcating those Scriptures which contained the "kernel of Chris-

tianity." Among Luther's *antilegomenai* were included the "Hebrews" and Epistle of "James," and about both he wrote with scant respect. Eventually, however, the Reformed bodies tacitly evaded such questions, and accepted the N. T. of the Mediæval Church. In the O. T. they substituted the Jewish Canon for Augustine's, and assigned an inferior degree of authority to the ejected or "Apocryphal" books. All the Reformers advocated the circulation of the Scriptures in vernacular translations, and the substitution of vernacular for Latin prayers.

The objective system, which had engendered so many degrading superstitions, was of course assailed by all the Reformers. But not unitedly. In respect to the sacraments they were unable to agree, save in certain negations. These were anticipated in Luther's "Babylonish Captivity of the Church" (1520), a Wittenberg counterblast to Leo's bull, exposing the sacramental errors of mediævalism. The doctrine of "seven" sacraments is here roughly handled. Luther practically limits the term "sacrament" to the lines of our own English Catechism, and assigns a distinctly superior rank to the means of grace, with external signs ordained by Christ Himself. He discards the theory that Ordination confers a distinctive or indelible character, and maintains that the official priest is merely *primus inter pares*. He of course insists on the administration of the Eucharist in both elements. While maintaining the doctrine of a Real Presence vouchsafed to the truly faithful communicant, he denounces the me-

Divers Sacra-  
mental  
theories.—  
Consubstanti-  
ation.

chanical theory, together with Radbertus' dogma of transubstantiation. Luther's final attitude in respect to the Eucharist is too remarkable to be passed over. Deference to the Schoolmen induced him to devise a theory of the Real Presence, based, like transubstantiation itself, on dialectics. The new dogma, "consubstantiation," was founded on the axioms of Luther's favourite Schoolman, Ockham, with respect to matter and space. The dialectics of consubstantiation were presented by Luther thus:—Matter can be present in two ways, as occupying distinct space, or as sharing space with something else. Christ's body, as ubiquitous, is present everywhere in the latter sense. Therefore it is in the bread and wine naturally, and is not introduced by any sacerdotal act. Its special grace in the sacrament is a continual fulfilment of a Divine promise.

Lutheranism spread quickly through Germany. Its first princely patron was Frederic the Elector of Saxony. From 1525 onwards it was supported by John, his brother and successor, and Philip the Landgrave of Hesse. But the Duke of Saxony opposed the new theology, and Dresden itself did not embrace it till 1539. Leo X. appealed after the burning of the bull, to the Emperor Charles V., and the recent efforts to make the Papacy a consolidated secular power now stood it in good stead. Charles, despite the vast range of his dominions, needed the Papal alliance to resist French encroachment in Italy. He acceded to the Pope's demand for the convocation of the Diet at Worms, Jan., 1521, and here Luther appeared, protected by a

Progress of  
Lutheranism.  
Diet of Worms.

safe-conduct, to argue that he ought not to recant anything but what was proved heretical by Scripture. The princes were induced by the Papal nuncio to proclaim him a heretic and an outcast from the Church, and to order the extermination of his writings. Luther was allowed to leave the Council, but his life was in imminent peril. Suddenly he disappears from the world. Confined by friendly hands in a secluded castle on the Wartburg, he spends the next year in producing his celebrated translation of the New Testament. Its close witnessed the death of Leo X.

The next Pope was a reformer himself. He was  
Hadrian VI.  
Impolitic  
conduct of  
Clement VII.
a Netherlander, and had been professor at Louvain and tutor to Charles V. Had  
Hadrian VI. lived longer, his influence might have effected some sort of concordat with the new theology. As it was, his short pontificate was marked by attempts to amend the Papal court. He tried, but tried in vain, to banish "the many abominable things" which had "found place beside the holy chair." Hadrian was succeeded in 1522 by a Pope of the Medici family, Clement VII. He listened to Rome's clamour against Spanish encroachment in Italy, and by making the Emperor his enemy greatly benefited the cause of the new religion. Clement's attempt to combine Rome, Milan, Venice, and Switzerland against the Emperor proved a disastrous failure. An imperialist army, composed largely of Lutherans, entered Rome, wrought fearful havoc, and secured booty of inestimable value, 1527. A little later Clement negotiated with the Emperor,

and concluded the treaty of Barcelona by which Charles was pledged to oppose Protestantism. But the Emperor's refusal to sanction persecution until a General Council should meet, again alienated the versatile pontiff. He cemented an alliance with Francis I., who was now bent on restoring the Protestant Duke of Wirtemberg, recently dispossessed by Charles' brother, Ferdinand of Austria. The war ensuing drove Ferdinand to accept the peace of Kadan, 1533, and abandon Wirtemberg, which thereupon formally embraced Protestantism. Other provinces imitated her. "Within a few years," says Ranke, "the Reformation extended through the whole of Lower Germany, and permanently established its seat in Upper Germany. And the enterprise that had conducted to all this was entered on with the knowledge, perhaps even with the approbation, of Clement himself."

We revert to the internal history of Lutheranism. During Luther's retirement the new theology was carried by the ultra-reforming section in a new direction. Luther, as holding the doctrine of consubstantiation, had retained the decent accessories of Christian ritual, while discarding the fantastic mummeries of mediæval formalism. But Carlstadt now came forward with projects for abolishing ceremonial of every kind. In Misnia the Anabaptists, under Claus Storch and Thomas Münzer, were proclaiming the faithful to be exempt from human legislation. Luther re-appeared at Wittenberg in 1522, silenced Carlstadt, and strongly denounced the Anabaptists. But the

Ultra-Protestant excesses.  
The Reformers in disrepute.

revolutionary spirit was not to be thus suppressed. The Peasants' Insurrection in the Black Forest, 1524, was mainly directed against aristocratic oppression, and Luther cannot be held accountable for its occurrence, or for its sanguinary suppression. But in many quarters the new teaching had roused sects of fanatics who clamoured for the slaughter of unbelievers, and the foundation of a kingdom of the faithful on a basis of socialism. In Holland this parody of Reformation was to culminate in the celebrated reign of John Bockhold at Leyden, who styled himself "King of Sion," and persecuted all who did not disavow their baptism, 1535. Luther was the sternest foe of the Anabaptist section, but a reaction from Lutheranism necessarily followed the rise of the fanatics. Among the seceders was Erasmus. This remarkable man had preceded Luther in assaults on the scholastic system. The "Praise of Folly," the "Paraphrases," the "Greek Testament," were each important contributions to that new learning which we noticed as dawning at the close of the preceding century. It was at his instance that the Elector Frederic had favoured Luther's cause. But it was as a scholar rather than a man of religion that Erasmus impugned mediæval error and contrasted the Apostles and Greek Fathers with the pedantic luminaries of the schools. With the spiritual side of the Reformation he had little sympathy. Alienated by the outbreaks of fanaticism, he poses from 1524 onwards as Luther's foe. The two were soon engaged in an acrimonious controversy on the doctrine of predestination.



It soon became plain that the new theology would have little hold in Austria, South Germany and Bavaria, though even in these parts there was a loud outcry against Papal abuses. The champions of the old religion met at Ratisbon to organise a league against Lutheranism. Philip of Hesse, John of Saxony, and other reforming princes retorted by establishing the rival League of Torgau, 1526. Already Charles had inaugurated his policy of persecution by the holocaust of four reforming monks at Antwerp. Fortunate for the Reformers was the maladroit policy of Clement VII., which at this moment was arraying the Papal troops against the Empire. To revive zeal for the Papacy under such circumstance was impossible. The Diet of Spires, convened under Ferdinand of Austria in 1526, itself advocated considerable reforms,—the full communion, clerical marriage, vernacular services, the abolition of private masses. Above all it accepted the great principle that each state should decide the conduct of its own religious affairs. Charles, despite his strong attachment to the old system, was forced to sanction this arrangement. The Lutherans thus secured a legal existence, but the religious unity of the German States was for ever lost. Vainly did Charles and Ferdinand retrace their steps and convene the second Diet of Spires in 1529, to repeal the pacific edict of its predecessor. The Reforming princes and municipalities drew up a document protesting that the revocation was an outrage to conscience and to law. This incident attached to the Lutherans the name “Protestants,” which we shall henceforth use in its

The rival  
Leagues. Diet  
of Spires  
secures the  
status of the  
Lutherans.  
Confession of  
Augsburg.



modern wider application. In 1520 was issued the noted "Confession of Augsburg," prepared chiefly by Melancthon. In this document there were twenty-one dogmatic articles, and seven of negative character. The latter impugned clerical celibacy, sacrificial masses, auricular confession, ceremonial feasts and fasts, the practice of monastic vows, and the secular jurisdiction of bishops. It was signed by John Elector of Saxony, the princes of Brandenburg, Luneburg, Hesse, and Anhalt, and the delegates of several towns. This Augsburg Confession and Luther's shorter Catechism became the characteristic symbols of the Lutheran body, which in respect to other points was soon much divided. The issue of the Confession greatly irritated the Romanists, and the Lutheran princes in self-defence proceeded to form the League of Smalcald. War would have probably ensued had not the Ottoman inroads in Hungary impelled Charles to a policy of conciliation. By the Peace of Nuremberg, 1532, the existing religious status was to continue till a General Council should pronounce sentence.

We must now describe the Reforming movement in  
 The Swiss Re- Switzerland, destined to develop a system-  
 formation—  
 Zwingle. atic theology as influential as Lutheranism  
 itself. The author of the Reformation in the German  
 cantons was Ulric Zwingle, a priest of scholarly pro-  
 clivities, and an admirer of Erasmus. Zwingle studied  
 the Greek Testament, imbibed Erasmus' critical prin-  
 ciples, and was impelled in the same direction as  
 Luther. The spiritual intuitions of the Wittenberg  
 Reformer were in the preacher of Zurich supple-  
 mented by a large reliance on the reasoning faculties.

Like Luther, however, Zwingle proclaimed that religion must be constituted on the basis of Scripture. The hostility of the Bishop of Constance soon convinced him that reform must involve severance from the Church. A distinct religious body was therefore formed, and was soon joined by the large majority of the canton, 1523. Basle shortly followed Zurich ; so too Berne ; the one stirred by Œcolampadius, the other by Meyer and Haller.

Despite its condemnation at a conference at Baden, 1526, the Zwinglian religion spread fast through Switzerland. The cantons in which it was resisted sought the aid of Austria. War ensued, and among the slain on the bloody field of Cappel, 1531, was Zwingle himself. His theology had been systematized in his "Commentary on True and False religion." Its leading expositors were henceforth Bullinger and Myconius. We proceed to analyse its character. To the Zwinglian the most repulsive feature in mediæval religion was the mechanical use of the Mass. His revolt from this formalism carried Zwingle so far that he lowered the Eucharist to the level of a commemorative rite, and denied the special grace of baptism. Disparaging all external agencies, Zwingle taught that Divine grace is always given "immediately" or without sacramental intervention. Here then the Zurichers widely diverged from the path of the men of Wittenberg, who albeit making faith a condition, attached an inherent grace to both sacraments. The colloquy of Luther and Zwingle at Marburg only emphasised the difference. Some vague concessions to the higher view were made after

Zwingle's death, in the Confession of Basle and the First Helvetic Confession. But the difference between the two systems remained too great for any hearty co-operation of the Lutherans and Zwinglians.

But the Zwinglian is not the most noted form of the Swiss Reformation. Zwingle's fame was destined to be eclipsed by the larger talents of Calvin, who supplied to Protestantism what neither Zwingle nor Luther could contribute—a distinct ecclesiastical organization. Calvin had headed the Reformers in France. He fled to Basle from the sanguinary persecutions of 1534, and here composed the celebrated "*Institutiones Christianæ religionis*," 1536. From Basle he carried the tyranny of a Protestant popedom to Geneva, which refused submission, and expelled him in 1538. But circumstances necessitating the adoption of an organic system, the Genevese turned in 1541 to Strasburg, where Calvin was editing his Commentaries, and the great Frenchman drove his own terms. Henceforth, till his death in 1564, he and his consistory exercised a despotic rule at Geneva. The organization of Calvin became the model for the Reformed Churches of France, Scotland, and the Netherlands. His peculiar theology accompanied or outran it, and more than once nearly found expression in the formularies of the English Church. The most startling feature in Calvinism was a rigorous dogma of predestination which restricted all possible religious benefits to one limited class of Christians. To these—"the elect"—the sacraments brought benefits of a kind unrecognised by Zwingle. Baptism is "obsignatory" of the blessings already

theirs by Divine decree. They "virtually" and "in effect" receive Christ's Presence in the Eucharist. To others sacraments are unavailing. Scarcely less striking were Calvin's claims in regard to the relations of Church and State. To the Church, with this happy minority of "elect," the State is to submit, as to a theocracy. The State only exists to enforce "the discipline of manners" desired by the Church. Popes from Gregory VII. to Gregory IX. had expressed a similar theory but had centred the Church's claims in an individual—the Pontiff. But Calvin's system was, in theory at least, attractively democratic, "his *vénérable compagnie*," who represent the power of the Church, being mostly lay "elders" ("*anciens*") elected by congregations. The only permanent clerical orders are "doctors" (*i.e.* theologians) and "pastors." The latter are to be appointed with the approval of the congregations. It will be impossible here to depict in detail the primitive Genevan organization, still less the peculiar modifications of Calvin's system in various countries. Two great principles always marked the Calvinistic Churches, and were fought for as if the essentials of Christianity. (1) Severance from State control in religious matters—the future history of Scotland shows the importance attached to this principle. (2) Government by bodies instead of individuals—the local presbytery which is the unit of authority, expanding by a system of delegation into higher bodies—the "provincial synod," and the "general" or "national assembly." Theoretically democratic, the Presbyterian system evolves frequently that type of oligarchical tyranny, the close corporation. This, too, is exempli-

fied in Scotland, and partly explains the hostility of the Independents to the Kirk.

In 1549 Calvin effected a concordat with the Zwinglians, which consolidated the Swiss Reformation, and capacitated the French Calvin's relations with the Zwinglians and Lutherans. and German cantons for united action. With the Lutherans his relations were less harmonious. The outbreak of a Eucharistic controversy in 1552 resulted in an alienation which was greatly embittered after Calvin's death, and gave emphasis to other doctrinal differences. The feud was specially bitter in the Palatinate, alternately ruled by Lutheran and Calvinistic Electors from 1556 onwards. The doctrines of moderate Calvinism found expression in the Palatine Catechism of 1560. Those of Lutheranism were circulated in the Formula Concordiæ of 1577. The animosity outlived this century, and the Thirty Years' War found Lutherans and Calvinists unable to unite against their common foe. Before quitting this subject, we notice that Calvin's mantle fell upon Theodore Beza, a Frenchman of kindred spirit, and that under both régimes Geneva was the asylum of refugee Protestants from all lands oppressed by the Inquisition. But Calvin's death was the culminating point of the Swiss Reformation. The Catholic reaction, due to the exertions of the Jesuits, affected almost every canton of the Helvetic confederation. The saintly Carlo Borromeo secured for the Jesuit institutions a firm footing in Switzerland, 1569-84, and in 1586 the Swiss Romanists formed the confederation called the "Golden League."

Already (1530) the new theology was confronted

with this "counter-reformation." The old monastic Orders,—the Benedictines, Dominicans, and Franciscans—were undergoing purgation, the Carmelites were about to accept the rule of St. Theresa. Many new societies—above all the Order of Jesuits—were to rise in the cause of the old religion. But the earliest indication of this counter-reformation was at Rome itself, where there had been founded, cir. 1523, a society of devout Catholics called the "Oratory of Divine Love." Its adherents, while clinging to mediæval organization, attached to the principle of justification by faith the same importance as Luther. They were headed by men who afterwards attained the rank of cardinal—Contarini, Sadoleti, Giberto, Caraffa, and the English refugee Reginald Pole. This evangelical Catholicism was favoured at Modena by the Cardinal Archbishop Morone, and at Naples by the Spanish secretary Juan de Valdez, who afterwards vainly attempted to reform the Church of Spain. From this party emanated (cir. 1540) the treatise "Beneficio di Christo," which roused the suspicions of the reactionists, and was doomed to destruction by the Inquisitors. On the accession of Paul III. (Alexander Farnese), 1534, it seemed likely that these Italian reformers would secure a purgation of the Church by Papal authority, yet on the lines of Luther. Paul himself was mainly prompted by diplomatic considerations, and anxiety to stand well with all parties. He promoted the evangelical divines to the cardinalate, and heard their discourses on the abuse of Papal authority. He appointed commissions

The counter-reformation.  
Paul III. and  
the Colloquy  
at Ratisbon.



to reform the Apostolic Chamber, the Chancery, and Penitentiaria, and readily pushed the Emperor's project for composing religious differences in a Council. At a Colloquy at Ratisbon, 1541, the two religions met, the one headed by Contarini the Papal legate, the other by Melancthon. Each party was anxious for reunion. On four primary articles—depravity of human nature, original sin, redemption, and (strange to say) justification—they proved to be at accord. But the negotiations were viewed with dislike both by Luther and by the reactionary Catholics. Francis I., too, had no desire to see the religious differences of the German Empire ended. It was probably at his instigation that Paul at last rejected the Articles of Ratisbon, as affronting Catholicism by their ambiguity. Never again were the Catholic and Protestant systems so near a reconciliation.

The fortunes of Lutheranism for a time (1545—  
 1552) rapidly ebbed. Charles' need of the  
 The Lutherans  
 weakened.  
 The Interim. Lutheran princes ceased at the close of  
 the French war, 1544. He arrayed him-  
 self against Protestantism, and was at once joined  
 by the perfidious Maurice of Saxony. Shortly after  
 Luther's death in 1546, North Germany lay at the  
 Emperor's feet renouncing the League of Smalcald.  
 Maurice was rewarded with the throne of John the  
 Elector of Saxony. The Council of Trent had begun  
 its attack on the new theology. A Diet at Augsburg,  
 1548, bade the Protestants accept the reactionary  
*Interim*, a rule which ceded only clerical marriage and  
 full communion. The *Interim*, though balanced by  
 a *Formula Reformationis* prescribed to the Roman



party, naturally roused among the stricter Lutherans a violent opposition. Modified however by Maurice, who was still a Protestant at heart, it was accepted by Melancthon, whose conformity provoked the "Adiaphonistic" controversy as to the limit of things essential.

The Council of Trent (the twentieth General Council of Roman computation) ranges over the years 1546-64. We shall notice its procedure as we treat of the successive pontiffs. Under Paul III. it sat for a year only. Its bias was shown by its first and hasty edict, that not only the apocryphal books but the unwritten traditions of the Church had full claim to inspired authority. Passing to the mysterious doctrines of original sin and justification, the Council repudiated the new theology by ruling that original sin is extirpated by baptism, and that faith only justifies when conjoined with love. The imputed righteousness of Christ is efficacious only when productive of personal righteousness. The reactionist party quashed all attempts to deal with the iniquities of the Papacy, but some decrees were passed condemning episcopal pluralities and other abuses of ecclesiastical administration. Charles's successes in the field now seemingly offered an opportunity for a more sweeping attack on the Lutherans. But by Paul as by his predecessor the ascendancy of the Emperor in religious matters was more dreaded than the new theology. He leagued closely with France, and with the view of weakening the imperial influence transferred the Council to Bologna, where it was practically suspended till 1551. Soon the Pope and Emperor were bitter

Council of  
Trent under  
Paul III.

foes. The Pope's son was assassinated by agents of the imperial faction, and Paul continually endeavoured to thwart the imperial interests.

To this pontificate belongs the foundation of the Jesuit Society, 1540. Ignatius Loyola, The Jesuits—their success. a Spanish soldier of good birth, turned to religion by illness consequent on his wounds, had conceived the idea of a spiritual knighthood, that should sacrifice all for Christ in such service as the Pope should enjoin. Ignatius was joined by Faber a Savoyard, Francois Xavier of Navarre, and for a while by Caraffa, the founder of the Theatines, a fraternity resembling the 13th century friars. As sanctioned in 1540, the Society was restricted to sixty members. But Paul removed this limitation by another bull in 1543. Eventually the special work selected for the Jesuits was to do battle against the new theology by propagating whatever the Pope should think fit. For this purpose it was decided to secure everywhere the superintendence of confessionals and educational establishments. The Society was characterised by freedom from the mechanical austerities and routines of worship usual in religious fraternities, and by an absolute submission of fortune, reason, and conscience to the authority of the General. Its official grades were eventually four—noviciates, coadjutors, professors of three, and professors of four vows. Of these the class of coadjutors proved the most influential, being composed of learned priests expressly trained for educational work. When Ignatius, its first general, died in 1556, the Jesuit Society had a footing in thirteen different provinces,

but this rate of progress was soon far surpassed, Its schools and colleges became noted in every country, and in the last quarter of the century it menaces the new theology with extinction. In Bavaria, the Tyrol, parts of Franconia and Swabia, southern Austria, and the Rhenish provinces, the Jesuits completely turned the tide of Reformation; in Switzerland and the Netherlands they stemmed its advance; in every other land they claimed some measure of success. In 1586 we find 62,000 souls recovered to the old faith in a single district of Germany. Abroad, Xavier and other missionaries carried Roman Christianity to the extremities of the known world. Julius III., Pius V. and Gregory XIII. enlarged the privileges of the Society. It will be frequently noticed hereafter in conflict with the European governments, irritated by those hateful moral principles which have become proverbial as the characteristics of Jesuitism.

The traitor Maurice still yearned to be the head of the Protestant princes. He leagued against the Emperor with Henry II. of France, and so artfully veiled his projects that he nearly succeeded in capturing Charles himself at Innsbruck, 1552. The Protestants now rose throughout Germany, and their cause was favoured by a fresh irruption of the Turks. Charles was compelled to accept the Treaty of Passau, and its terms were fully confirmed by the Diet opened by his brother Ferdinand at Augsburg, 1555. The Diet gave every landed proprietor liberty to choose between the old religion and the Augsburg

Diet of  
Augsburg.  
Religious  
toleration  
established.

Confession. A *modus vivendi* on principles of mutual toleration was thus established, and outward hostilities between the two religions of the Empire ceased for the rest of the century. Charles, disgusted with his failure, retired to a convent in Estremadura, 1556, transferring the Empire to Ferdinand and the Spanish dominions to Philip II. The Emperors Ferdinand, and Maximilian II., 1564, were not on friendly terms with the Papacy. Rudolf II., 1576, however, who had been educated by the Jesuits, gave active support to these devoted servants of Rome, and much assisted the reactionary movement.

Julius III., 1550-5, had been employed by his predecessor as chief legate at Trent. He re-established the Council there, in spite of angry protests from the King of France, and the first subject of consideration was the Eucharist, Oct., 1551. The Council endorsed the dogma of transubstantiation, and declared the highest form of worship to be due to the consecrated elements. The Lutheran, Calvinistic, Zwinglian, and other views of the subject were all anathematised. Penance (or rather absolution consequent on penance) was defined as a sacrament, so too extreme unction, with the usual accompaniment of anathemas. Certain Lutheran envoys from Saxony and Wirtemberg were given a hearing towards the close of these sessions, which were suddenly interrupted by Maurice's march against the Emperor, April, 1552. The Council did not meet again till 1562.

The twenty-two days pontificate of Marcellus II. need not be noticed. The next Pope was Caraffa, the

founder of the Theatines, and one of the counter-reformation party. He was yet more conspicuous as having secured, in 1542, the bull establishing a universal Inquisition, whose six chief officers were to persecute suspected heretics "in all Christian nations whatsoever." Despite his great talents and religious zeal, Caraffa, as Paul IV. (1555), did not much advance the spiritual interests of the Church. Impelled by hatred of the empire and the Spanish ascendancy, he took an active part in the French war, was defended by Protestant forces against the imperialists, and after the defeat of the French at St. Quentin, was compelled to capitulate to Alva. He effected a conscientious purgation of the Roman court, but he spurned the idea of submitting ecclesiastical reforms to a General Council.

Pius IV., 1559, was of more pacific disposition, and conviction as well as policy induced him to re-open the sessions at Trent, 1562. Safe conducts were offered to the Re-  
Paul IV. His anti-imperial policy.  
Pius IV. Final proceedings of Council of Trent.  
forming Churches, but the Council had long lost all claim to respect as an impartial tribunal. England joined in repudiating it as neither "holy," "free," nor "general." An attempt of the Spanish representatives to assert the divine origin of episcopacy, and its consequent independence of Papal authority, was stifled by Pius' diplomacy. A warm discussion as to the propriety of administering the Eucharist in both kinds also ended fruitlessly. A decree confirmed the mediæval doctrine of sacrificial masses, beneficial to the departed as well as to the living. The reality of a visible hierarchy with indelible characteristics

was asserted. Matrimony was declared a sacrament on the authority of "universal tradition." The existence of purgatory, the advantage of invoking saints, the propriety of worshipping images and relics, and the utility of the indulgence system were also affirmed. The Council then closed, Jan., 1564, leaving untouched the question uppermost in all minds—the extent of the Pope's authority. Of the 255 members who attested its official acts, 187 were Italians. They were also confirmed by a Papal instrument reserving to the Pope the privilege of expounding them. It must be noticed that this Council did not receive the full recognition of the Gallican Church.

The Council of Trent had the general effect of strengthening the authority of the Pope, increasing the severity of Church discipline, and diminishing such abuses as clerical concubinage, non-residence, and pluralities. But that these results were permanently secured, was due chiefly to the indefatigable Society of Jesus. In reinvesting their Papal patron with absolute supremacy the sagacious Jesuits declined the ancient analogy between the Papal and imperial jurisdiction. Their policy was rather to impugn the Divine Rights of Sovereigns. "The progress of democracy was stimulated under the very shadow of the Papal monarchy and by its boldest champions, in order that the civil power might be more readily subordinated to the spiritual." The pontificates of the four succeeding Popes may be cursorily noticed. Pius V. (1566) was a severe reformer and a promoter of Papal absolutism. His piety and zeal gave him wide influence, and he

Subsequent  
history of  
Roman  
Catholicism.



was the author of the league against the Turks, which effected the great victory of Lepanto. He was canonised after his death. Gregory XIII. (1572) was a munificent patron of the Jesuits, and founded the great Seminary at Rome. He forwarded the anti-English policy of Spain which produced the great enterprise of the Armada, and he was the backbone of the League of the Guises in France. By Sixtus V. (1585) the ancient abuse of nepotism was limited within lines which after times accepted as fixed. The later policy of this Pope was much influenced by jealousy of the predominance of Spain. Clement VIII. (1592) is memorable for relinquishing the cause of the League in France and pronouncing the absolution of Henry IV. This Pope superseded the ducal government in Ferrara by that of the Papal States. He was conspicuous as the negotiator of the peace concluded between France and Spain in 1598.

A few words must be added to our account of Lutheranism. Luther was no organizer, and the religion which he bequeathed to Germany was lacking in that completeness and logical precision which commend the gloomier system of Calvin. Intestine controversies were the consequence, bitter as those conducted against either Rome or Geneva. Four great subjects of dispute are recorded. (1) *Solifidianism*: Luther's frequent disparagement of the "law," as opposed to the Gospel, had encouraged the antinomian tendency already noticed. A controversy as to the relations of faith and works raged, 1537-60. (2) *Synergy*: Stricter Lutherans made man an impassive recipient

Intestine  
feuds of the  
Lutherans.



of grace, "no more able to co-operate than a stick or a stone." On the other hand Striegel, Melancthon's follower, maintained that the human soul abetted the Divine Spirit with efforts of its own. This controversy covers the years 1550-80. (3) *Personal justification*: How was the propitiation of Christ to be applied to the individual? The mediæval Church had answered by interpreting the Mass as a repetition of Christ's death. Osiander (*d.* 1552) attempted a reply which distinguished strictly between the historical act of redemption, and the work of justification in the believer's soul. In the controversy thus engendered we trace the origin of those rival theories as to the range of Christ's propitiatory work, which distinguish seventeenth-century "Arminianism" and "Calvinism." (4) *Consubstantiation*: Melancthon's followers were more inclined to symbolise with Calvin than with Luther on the question of Eucharistic grace. They predominated at Wittenberg. The adherents of consubstantiation had their headquarters at Jena. In 1571 the controversy resulted in a repudiation of Luther's theory of the ubiquity of Christ's body by the divines of Wittenberg and Leipsic. . . . Out of the turmoil of these disputes came the Formula Concordiæ, 1577, which owed its recognition mainly to Augustus, Elector of Saxony. It was adopted by Sweden and Hungary in later times. But its conservative tones gave offence, and many Churches now forsook the Lutheran for the Calvinistic profession. It ended intestine feuds at the expense of the Lutheran numbers. To describe fully the official organisation of Lutheranism

would take us beyond the limits of this work. Luther's theory had been that the bishop and the priest were identical, and that the rule of prelates should be superseded by that of the Christian communities. But the principle of Spires and Augsburg, "*cujus regio ejus religio*," was capable of wide expansion, and practically the *jus episcopale* was given to the civil authority. Consequently each of some four hundred petty states had its own ecclesiastical organization, dictated by the whim of its ruler. A striking contrast this to the Calvinistic systems with their jealous resentment of anything like State interference.

We now notice the course of the Reformation in countries outside the Empire. France, as we have seen, was stirred by an evangelical movement independent of Luther's and Zwingli's. Prominent among its leaders were Jacques Lefèvre and Bishop Briçonnet. Olivetan, the translator of the Bible into French, was Calvin's relation, and for awhile the future dictator of Geneva was conspicuous as an object of the Sorbonne's attack. French Evangelicism was subjected to fearful persecutions, which are partly accounted for by the intemperate language of the Reformers and the confusion of their cause with that of the turbulent Anabaptists. The massacre of the Reforming Vaudois in Provence, 1545, is said to have had four thousand victims. In 1555-9 the French Reformers formally accepted the Genevan system, and published, with Calvin's sanction, a Confession embodied in forty Articles. The reformed

Conflicts of  
Protestantism  
in France.  
Edict of  
Nantes.

religion was accepted by Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, his brother the Prince de Condé, and several of the nobility. But the feud of the Guise and Bourbon families during the minority of Charles IX. plunged France into a civil war of a politico-religious kind. The synod at Poissy (1561) had only proved the impossibility of reconciliation, and an edict of tolerance, promulgated in 1562, had been violated by the persecuting Duke of Guise. The Huguenots accordingly took up arms under Condé and Coligny. Their defeat at Dreux was shortly succeeded by the Peace of Orleans. Another edict of tolerance (1563) now caused a four years' lull in the storm. The horrors of the renewed religious war reached their climax in the diabolical massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, devised by the queen-mother, Catharine de Medici. There perished on this occasion at least two thousand Huguenots in Paris, and twenty thousand in France at large. Henry III. succeeded in 1574, and his dread of the Guises and the ultra-Roman faction induced overtures to the Huguenots. Their adversaries now negotiated with Philip II. the Catholic League for the extermination of Protestantism, and a desolating war ensued. In 1589 a Dominican monk assassinated the last king of the Valois family: his infamous mother, Catharine de Medici, died in the same year. Henry of Navarre, for twenty years the acknowledged head of the Huguenots, succeeded, to maintain the struggle against the League at Arques and Ivry, but to sacrifice his own Protestantism to the dictates of political sagacity in

1593. The peculiar position of this sovereign, however, rendered his reign favourable alike to Protestantism and to the liberties of the Gallican Church. Five years after his abjuration, Henry authorised the famous Edict of Nantes, declaring Protestants eligible for civil offices and permitting the public exercise of their worship in certain parts of France, 1598. Jean Chastel's attempt to assassinate the king, and his defence of such deeds on Jesuit principles, raised a storm of indignation against the Society of Jesus. Its members were expelled from France, as seducers of youth, disturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the king and state. This edict was not cancelled till 1603, and then it was stipulated that all Jesuits residing in France must be Frenchmen.

In England, as elsewhere, the way was paved for a Reformation by the fautors of the New The English Reformation. Learning. Prominent among these in Its dawn. the early part of the century were Grocyn, the friend of Erasmus, who printed a Greek Testament with a Commentary; Dean Colet, who read Greek Testament lectures at Oxford and St. Paul's; Thomas More, the author of *Utopia*; and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who established the new studies at Cambridge. Erasmus himself spent many years in England, and under Fisher's auspices became Professor of Greek and Lady Margaret Professor at Cambridge. More and Fisher, however, were driven by later events to the reactionist side, the latter being the only bishop who did not acquiesce in the changes of Henry VIII. Both were beheaded in 1535 for refusing the tenet of

the king's ecclesiastical supremacy. In this group of intellectual Reformers we may also include the great Cardinal Wolsey, who liberally patronised the New Learning at both Universities. Wolsey's alienation of certain small monastic endowments to the foundation of Christ Church, gave a pretext for the ruthless attack on the religious houses subsequently authorised by the grasping king.

The actual rupture with Rome was, however, due to a less respectable influence than the *renaissance*. Henry VIII.'s rupture. Repudiation of Papal authority. Henry, enamoured of Anne Boleyn, sought to divorce Catharine of Aragon, on the plea that she had been his brother's wife. The matter was referred to Pope Clement VII., who, for political reasons, ordered his legates Campeggio and Wolsey to temporise. The king, exasperated by the delay, degraded Wolsey, secured a favourable verdict from various universities, from Parliament and Convocation, and in defiance of a Papal bull married Anne in 1532. Cranmer, a Cambridge Fellow, who had found favour with the king, was elevated to Canterbury to hold a court which accused Catharine of contumacy, and declared the first marriage invalid. Henry strengthened his position by claiming to be "supreme head" of the Church of England, on the ground that the Church was coterminous with the nation. This claim was acknowledged by Parliament and Convocation 1531-4. The former body secured at the same time relief from certain clerical exactions, and the right of reviewing all future ecclesiastical canons. The latter had, as early as 1531, prayed for the abolition of the annates payable to the Pope, and

in 1533 these were prohibited together with the bulls and licences hitherto employed in appointments to bishoprics. The Statute for the Restraint of Appeals in the same year declared the temporalty and spirituality of England severally competent to judge its own affairs. In 1534 we find Parliament asserting that the Pope has no greater jurisdiction in England "than any other foreign bishop," and the king providing for the erasure of the Pope's name from all mass-books, rubrics, etc. The rupture was completed when Paul III. was incited by the execution of Fisher and More to excommunicate Henry and absolve his subjects from allegiance, 1535.

Henry's Reformation went little further than repudiation of Papal control, and a cruel and destructive abolition of the monas- Henry's Reformation. teries (1536-9), prompted by avarice rather than theological proclivities. The king had himself attacked Luther in an "Assertio septem Sacramentorum," and been rewarded by Leo X. with the title "Fidei Defensor." The dogma of transubstantiation was included in the 10 Articles of 1536 (a production of moderate conservative character), and was protected by the sanguinary statute of 6 Articles in 1539. It is true that vernacular translations of the Bible and Missal were now authorised, and that mediæval saints were deprived of their posthumous honours. But broadly Henry's religious aim was Catholicism without the Pope. If maintainers of Papal supremacy went to the gibbet, Lutherans and Anabaptists were burnt as heretics. The king's chief agents were his unprincipled chancellor of the exchequer, Cromwell,

beheaded 1540, and Archbishop Cranmer, a divine of real ability but of vacillating disposition. The advanced Reforming section included Latimer, the preaching prelate, who on the passing of the six Articles resigned the bishopric of Worcester, and Ridley, Cranmer's chaplain. The leading divines of the reactionary party were Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, who in the next reign was ousted in favour of Ridley.

The accession of the boy Edward VI., and the ascendency of the grasping and unprincipled statesmen Somerset and Northumberland, gave a new direction to this Reformation. The Church, albeit without breach of continuity, was impelled in the direction of Zwinglian Protestantism. The reactionary prelates were persecuted; Church property was alienated; the accessories of mediæval worship were swept away. The salient features in the story of this reign are indicated by the appropriation of chantries, 1547, the injunctions against the ancient ritual, 1549, the First and Second vernacular Prayer Books, 1549 and 1552, the 42 Articles, 1553. These Prayer Books and Articles served as bases for the documents which, in Elizabeth's reign, gave the English Reformation finality. Cranmer's views were at this period much influenced by the refugee Protestants, Bucer and Peter Martyr. The Communion Office in the Second Prayer Book favoured Zwingli's theory of the purely commemorative purpose of the Eucharist. The Zwinglian attitude was less equivocally represented in the episcopate by Hooper of Gloucester, who tried to abolish

The English  
Reformation  
under Edward  
VI.



the distinctive episcopal vestment, and by Ridley of London, who substituted an "honest table" for the altar.

The maladministration of this reign, and the intrigue to secure the throne for the Protestant Jane Dudley, accounts for the religious reaction under Mary. Thisqueen, The reaction under Mary. Persecution of the Reformers. with the full consent of Parliament and Convocation, not only reverted to the status of 1547, but undid Henry's legislation, and formally restored England to the obedience of the Pope. Parliament and Convocation received absolution from Cardinal Pole as legate of Julius III., in 1554. But a senseless and bloody persecution of Protestantism, suggested by the Spanish divines who accompanied Philip II. to England, deprived the old faith of the ground thus singularly recovered, 1555-8. Besides prelates such as Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and Ferrar, and conspicuous clergymen such as Taylor and Rogers, 300 persons, chiefly of the lower orders, perished in the flames.

Popular disgust at these cruelties gave a vantage ground to the moderate system which was favoured by Elizabeth, and The Reformation completed by Elizabeth. which under the guidance of Archbishop Parker became stereotyped as the religion of the English Church. Of this system in its combination of Catholicism and Protestantism, the chief exponents are the Prayer Book of 1559 and the 39 Articles of 1563. The sacraments are here treated as veritable means of grace. The essentials of primitive Catholicism are conserved, albeit not only

Popery but the mechanical system of the Middle Ages is discarded. The English Church of the future was to be a reformed body, but not, like the Lutheran and Calvinistic societies, a new creation. Provision was made for the canonical consecration of the new bishops, and in all other respects care was taken that the transition from the mediæval system should entail no breach of continuity. But the Marian bishops clung to the restored Romanism of 1554. They specially resented the tenet of the royal supremacy, although divested by Elizabeth of all that savoured of Byzantinism. They were deprived, and their fate was shared by some 190 reactionist clergy. The Romanists, however, both lay and clerical, mostly remained faithful to the national Church till 1570, when Pius V., by excommunicating and depriving the sovereign, precipitated a religious feud. This was embittered by the appearance of Jesuit missionaries advocating Elizabeth's assassination. The Jesuits abetted the hostilities of Spain, which culminated in the unsuccessful expedition of the Great Armada. In the next reign they were the authors of the Gunpowder Plot. It is not surprising that for many years to come Romanism was restrained by disfranchisement and other penalties.

At the opposite pole of thought was a party which during the Marian troubles had imbibed the tenets of ultra-Protestantism. Its chief fautors were men who had fled from the persecution to Geneva and Frankfort. They accepted the narrow Calvinistic views of Predestination and Justification. In Church government they desired to set up

**Turbulence of  
the Puritans.**

the mixed presbytery of Calvin's institution. Shielded by the profligate Leicester, encouraged by foreign reformers, and humoured by Archbishop Grindal, this "Puritan" faction waxed strong. But the primacy of Whitgift, 1583, inaugurated a different policy. Stringent tests were now laid before clergy suspected of disaffection to the Anglican system, and candidates for orders were required to accept the Articles and the Prayer Book as "agreeable to the Word of God." Whitgift's aim was aided by the excesses of the Puritans, who in 1588 disgusted England by the foul aspersions on the episcopate known as the Martin Marprelate libels. The Government was obliged to deal severely with the libellers, and their disrepute for awhile shattered the Puritan cause. The more violent of these religionists retired to Holland, which was soon perturbed by the vagaries of the Barrowists, Brownists, and kindred sects.

Among the many famous divines of this reign were Bishop Jewel, whose "Apology," 1562, Jewel, Hooker, Andrewes. maintaining the Catholicity of the English Church, gained European fame; Hooker, who as Master of the Temple, wrote the famous "Ecclesiastical Polity," in answer to the Puritan lecturer Travers, 1600; and Lancelot Andrewes, who by his influence with Whitgift saved the Church from the Calvinism embodied in the nine "Lambeth Articles" of 1595.

Ireland was ordered to accept Henry's anti-Papal legislation in 1537, and the First Prayer The Irish Reformation. Book of Edward VI. in 1551. No provision was made for translating this work into Irish, and the appointment of the scurrilous ultra-Protes-

tant John Bale to the See of Ossory, 1553, probably did not endear the new religion to the natives. The course of affairs under Edward and Mary was much the same as in England, but the queen died before the persecution took effect in Ireland. The ecclesiastical enactments of Elizabeth were accepted by an Irish synod in 1560. Romanist opposition came to a head in 1570, and fostered frequent rebellions. The Thirty-nine Articles were not prescribed to the Irish Church, which retained instead the short series of Eleven Articles compiled by Parker for the English Church in 1559. The lack of a minuter test accounts for the promulgation of the Irish Articles of 1615. This lengthy formulary was the production of the Calvinistic Archbishop Usher, and incorporates the Lambeth Articles. It was abolished in favour of the Thirty-nine Articles by the influence of Strafford and Laud, in 1635. The history of this Reformed Church is throughout unsatisfactory. For many years it scarcely attempted to influence the natives. The Act of Uniformity, 1560, instead of authorising an Irish translation of the Prayer Book, had merely allowed the alternative of Latin where English was not understood. The New Testament itself was not translated into Irish till 1602.

The Scotch Reformation was initiated by the preaching of the Lutheran, Patrick Hamilton, who was burnt in 1528. The Parliament passed a rigorous act against "the damnable opinions of that great heretic Luther," in 1535, and in 1545 the French party, headed by Cardinal Beatoun, conducted a persecution, under which the

preacher Wishart suffered. The reaction consequent on this oppression drew Scotland steadily onwards in the direction of Calvinistic Protestantism. Beatoun was murdered by some zealots, who received countenance from John Knox, the bigoted leader of the Scotch Reformation. For years the Scotch religious question was entangled in the intrigues of the English and French courts. The Council of Edward VI. tried to effect an alliance with the northern Protestants, whose leaders, the "Lords of the Congregation," had leagued under the "Covenant" of 1557. Knox, however, objected to the conservative tone of the English Prayer Books, and declined the bribe of preferment in England. In the reign of Mary, Knox retired to the Continent, and figured prominently in the wordy wars of Frankfort and Geneva. He returned to Scotland deeply penetrated by the principles of Calvin, headed the iconoclastic havoc of 1559, and was the leader of the fanatical Presbyterians till 1572. After the death of Mary of Guise in 1560, the Lords of the Congregation entered Edinburgh in arms, and Parliament met to abolish the Pope's jurisdiction, attach penalties to hearing the Mass, authorise the Calvinistic "Confession of Faith," and decree the destruction of all cloisters and abbeys. In 1567 Parliament made the monarchy Protestant. That prelacy was retained for awhile was due mainly to the grasping statesmen who appropriated or taxed the revenues of their episcopal nominees. Really the Scotch Kirk was, from 1560, an independent body, governed by presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. This basis of government was protected in

1578 by the second Book of Discipline. Andrew Melville pressed the attack on episcopacy, and in 1580 the General Assembly decreed its extirpation, and summoned the bishops to resign on pain of excommunication. But it was not till 1592 that the Parliament legalised the new ecclesiastical government by accepting the second Book of Discipline, and substituting a presbyterian rule for that of the bishops. The weak king James VI., who had consented to the Act of Annexation, 1587, which so disendowed the bishoprics as to make them not worth taking, and who had allowed the Assembly to persecute Archbishop Adamson, now intrigued to establish a sham episcopate. In 1597 he secured a quasi-revival of the prelates in the shape of delegates from the Kirk to the Parliament. These ministers were to correspond in number and titles to the ancient parliamentary prelates. The Crown was to have a voice in the appointment, but the prelate was to be responsible for his proceedings in Parliament to the General Assembly. The Presbyterians generally regarded this anomalous arrangement with dislike, which was not diminished by the king's publication of the "True Law of Free Monarchies," and the "Basilikon Doron," both upholding the principle of autocracy. The General Assembly, however, ratified it in 1600. It was destined to lead on to momentous consequences.

The Netherlands received Lutheran principles as early as 1521. From this time onward, a persecution was directed against all Protestants in his Flemish dominions by Charles V. Yet the doctrines of the Reformation

The Reforma-  
tion in the  
Netherlands.

spread fast. The excesses of the Anabaptists in these parts have been noticed. Gradually the Dutch Reformers inclined to the more sober system of Geneva. The *Confessio Belgica* (copied from the French Confession) was accepted in 1562. This and the Heidelberg Catechism became the basis of Dutch Protestantism. Meanwhile Philip II. had used every effort to extirpate the new religion. The atrocities of the Inquisition were inflicted by Granvella, the Cardinal Bishop of Arras. The desolating march of the bigot Alva followed, 1567-8. The cause of Protestantism became that of civil freedom, and as such was espoused by William of Orange, who effected the celebrated relief of Leyden in 1574, and in 1579 became the Stadtholder of the seven united provinces of the north. After his assassination by a Spanish hireling, 1584, the war was continued by his son and successor, Maurice. At last the independence of the seven provinces was acknowledged by Spain in 1609. That religion in the southern Netherlands took a different course was largely due to the policy of the Duke of Parma, who, instead of persecuting, offered the bribe of enlarged political rights. His efforts were seconded by the Jesuits, who succeeded in re-establishing the Papacy in the alienated cities of Flanders and Brabant no less than in those of the French border.

In Denmark, Norway, and Iceland, under Luther's friend, Christian III., the religious struggle ended with the establishment of the Lutheran system, cir. 1537.

In Denmark,  
Norway, Ice-  
land, Sweden.

Sweden had received the new doctrines from the



brothers Peterson in 1519. They found here a royal champion of the same type as Henry VIII. Gustavus Vasa, in spite of a formidable insurrection, asserted his own ecclesiastical supremacy, appropriated clerical revenues, suppressed monasteries, and established the main features of the Lutheran system. But his successor, John, who had married a Polish Romanist, forced on Sweden a liturgy of reactionary tendency. The religious conflict came to an issue when the persecuting Sigismund III. of Poland succeeded in 1592. The leading statesmen, under Sigismund's uncle Charles, proclaimed the Confession of Augsburg as the national standard of faith, and prohibited both Romanism and Calvinism. Sigismund, by the advice of the Jesuits, secured the crown by feigned acquiescence, and at once endeavoured to enforce a sanction of Romanism. The Diet retaliated by ordering the expulsion of all persons opposed to Lutheranism. War ensued. Sigismund's forces were defeated, and the throne passed to Charles, and afterwards to his celebrated son, Gustavus Adolphus. Sweden retained the Lutheran doctrines. But, like England, it underwent Reformation without losing its episcopal succession. It is governed still by an Archbishop of Upsala and thirteen bishops.

Poland first received the Reforming tenets from Bohemia. It became a hot-bed of strange  
In Poland.
 opinions. The elder Socinus gained a footing in Poland, and anti-Trinitarian heresies were specially rife. The first Unitarian Confession was printed at Cracow in 1574, and the learned and wealthy Faustus Socinus did much to make this

system popular. The orthodox Protestantism which had been fostered by Sigismund Augustus, 1548, was sapped by sectarian conflicts, and was finally upset by the exertions of Sigismund III. (1587-1632) and his Jesuit allies.

In Spain an opposition to ecclesiastical abuses was headed by Juan and Alfonso de Valdéz, In Spain and Italy. and became a real Lutheran movement under Rodrigo de Valero, and his famous disciple, Juan Gil, or Egidius. The latter was, however, compelled by the Inquisition to make a public abjuration in 1552. Other leading Reformers were Domingo de Rojas, a Dominican of noble birth, and Agustin Cazalla. But under such a sovereign as Philip II. there was no chance for Protestantism. The Reforming party underwent a terrible persecution, and by 1570 the new tenets were completely stamped out. Even Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, who had taken a leading part at the Council of Trent, and contributed largely to the success of the Marian reaction in England, died a victim to the suspicions of the Inquisition. In Italy Protestantism was equally unsuccessful. The preaching of Bernard Ochín and Pietro Vermigli (Peter Martyr) was interrupted by the Inquisition, and here, as indeed in Southern Europe generally, the new tenets failed to strike root.

The Reformation thus divides Europe into two sections. The one is united in doctrine; and, under the influence of the supple Jesuits, readily adapts itself to the new democratic tendency. The other aspires to be at most but a congeries of National

Absence of  
harmony in  
Reformed  
Churches.  
Diverse views  
of State  
relations.

Churches. Its component parts are separated, not only by doctrinal differences, but by widely diverse theories of the relations of Church and State. In England the tendency to exalt the Crown is apparent. Under the Stuarts it attains a significance fatal to the Anglican cause. In the Lutheran states the magistrate encroaches on the Church, and generally nominates pastors at his will. In the Calvinistic bodies not only is self-government claimed, but the aim is to substitute ecclesiastical for secular control. The Genevan Consistory of twelve elders and six ministers burns the Unitarian Servetus *proprio motu*, in 1553. In Scotland the Kirk awes society with continual censures and excommunications, which the magistrates are compelled to endorse. Andrew Melville addresses James himself as a "subject of the Kirk," "not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member."

That the revolt from the centralising system of ecclesiastical policy and its numerous abuses, was of inestimable service to the cause of literature and science is undeniable. This tendency, however, was at first obscured by the turmoil of religious conflict, and it was not till the close of the century that the new ecclesiastical systems began to work in harmony with the intellectual movement that had heralded their rise. Classical erudition after the appearance of Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives, and Jean Budé declined; and even in Italy, the cradle of the New Learning, Greek scholarship threatened to become extinct. In England, in 1563, only three clergymen of the

The Reforma-  
tion and  
intellectual  
progress.

Middlesex archdeaconry are reported as “*docti Latine et Græce.*” But of far greater importance than this temporary decadence of classical studies was the dawn of physical science, heralded by the great discovery of Copernicus (*d.* 1543). The larger view of the system of the universe, consequent on the overthrow of the Ptolemaic theory, necessarily induced a new philosophy. The case of Galileo shows how unfavourable to this upgrowth would have been the soil of mediæval Catholicism. Only in a Reformed Christendom could it flourish. The reign of the Schoolmen was about to be superseded by that of inductive scientists. Dogma, begotten of dialectics and kept alive by persecution, was to give place to a Christianity rational and practical, needing no apology, and capable of ceding wide tolerance. But ere such a status could be realised, another century of logomachy and religious wars had to elapse. Throughout it the Protestant (belying the inherent principles of the Reformation) often appears as cruel in his treatment of supposed misbelief as the inheritor of mediæval religion. Indeed, in Puritan America the hateful system of persecution survived, long after the principles of tolerance had permeated the Old World.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

**T**HE early years of this century revived throughout Western Christendom the time-honoured strife of Augustine and Pelagius, Gottschalk and Hincmar. In the Roman Church the Jesuits (destined shortly to engage in the larger Jansenist controversy) maintain the cause of human freedom. In the Reformed, Arminius revolts from the gloomy logic of Calvinism. The contest begins with an attack on Jesuit orthodoxy by the Spanish Dominicans. Already the Dominicans had evinced their jealousy of the successes of the new Order by fomenting a rebellion in it against the despotic powers of the General. The Spanish Jesuits, affronted by the election of Acquaviva, a Neapolitan attached to the French party, 1581, had been won over to the proposal that the General's authority should be limited by conciliar action, and Sixtus V. had ratified it authoritatively. Not content with thus reshaping the constitution of the society, the Dominicans now proceeded to assail its theology. We need not ascribe it only to their antagonism to Calvin, that the Jesuits were wont to ascribe a wide sphere of action to man's free will. The

The Free-will  
Controversies.  
The Jesuits  
and Dominicans.

casuistry attacked afterwards by Pascal, the doctrines of "probability" and "heteronomy"—their very aim of restoring to mediæval Romanism its lost supremacy at all hazards—forbade their regarding mankind with the eyes of an Augustine. Acquaviva's "Order of Studies," 1584, and Molina's "Concordia," 1588, had broken away far from the confines demarcated by the "Summa" of Aquinas, far even from the wider limits assigned by the Council of Trent. Molina indeed appears to have lowered the Divine interposition in human actions, from the status of predestination to that of mere foreknowledge. An event does not occur because God foreknew it, but God foreknew it because it would happen. It was natural that the Dominicans should rise in support of their "Angelic Doctor," and secure a condemnation of the "Concordia" by the Visitor of the Inquisition. France, which shortly afterwards readmitted the Jesuits (1603), espoused their cause out of hatred to Spain, and soon Catholic Europe was astir with the dispute. It was submitted to the Congregatio de Auxiliis by Clement VII. in 1598, but so powerful were the rival interests that no verdict was pronounced for fourteen years. At last (1611) Paul V., after summoning seventeen meetings, gave sentence that the Holy Ghost had not revealed a decision, and that each party should hold its private view in silence. The Jesuits naturally regarded the toleration thus accorded to their doctrine in the light of a triumph.

The predestinarian controversy of Protestant Europe reaches its climax a little later at the Synod of Dort, 1618. The dispute was embittered by the

antagonism of the two great Protestant systems, whose mutual animosities had been enhanced, *Arminius and the Synod of Dort. Results of the Quinquarticular controversy.* cir. 1604, by the desertion of Maurice Landgrave of Hesse, and Sigismund Elector of Brandenburg, to the Calvinistic faith. But the most noted champion of human freedom was not a Lutheran, but a member of the Calvinistic Church of Holland and a Professor at Leyden University. The attitude of Harmensen (Arminius) will be best appreciated if we present to the student the five celebrated dogmas of Calvinism which triumphed at Dort, and append the Arminian modifications. The "Five Points" to which the Calvinistic Churches were henceforth committed were:—

(1) Predestination of some to life eternal and others to damnation, and this "without respect to God's foresight of men's faith and good works, or any conditions." (2) Particular Redemption; *i.e.* a belief that Christ died for the benefit of the elect alone. (3) Original Sin as involving the total corruption of human nature. (4) Irresistible Grace; *i.e.* the belief that Divine grace overpowers all free-will in the case of the elect. (5) Final Perseverance of all the elect. "They may fall partially or for a time, but not finally." The Arminians, in the "Remonstrance" drawn up by Episcopius in 1610, modified these rigorous dogmas thus. In (1) they argued that God's Predestination was limited by His foreknowledge of personal conduct. In (2) that Christ made expiation for the sins of all men, but that only believers can be partakers of this benefit. In (3) that no one can of himself attain saving faith; but being by nature born unable to think or do good he must be born again. In (4) that though salvation is to be ascribed entirely to God's grace, this grace can be resisted by man. In (5) that whether men once regenerate "can fall away or not, we have not sufficient evidence."

The chief points of difference therefore concerned Articles (1), (4), and (5). Arminius died in 1609.



The leading Arminians were henceforth Barneveldt and the famous jurist and scholar, Hugo Grotius. The Arminian cause received a political colouring, and was joined by many from mere dislike of the autocracy of the House of Orange. It was accordingly fiercely assailed by Prince Maurice. The imprisonment of Barneveldt and Grotius and general persecution of the "Remonstrants" were followed in 1618 by the convention of the Synod of Dort, not to discuss but to condemn the Arminian views. This synod included 61 Dutch divines and 28 delegates from the Palatinate, Hesse, Bremen, and Switzerland. Four English representatives attended at the desire of James I. Their presence, however, merely indicated that certain court divines were opposed to Arminianism, for the English formularies spoke vaguely on the questions at issue, and the King himself advocated the doctrine of universal redemption. At Dort the Arminian deputies were refused a hearing by President Bogermann, and were sentenced to be expelled from the synod and deprived. The Five Articles in all their rigour were enforced on Holland, and 700 families who refused to sign them were banished. Barneveldt was sentenced to death, Grotius to a perpetual imprisonment. The latter contrived to escape in 1621, and after retorting severely on his persecutors in his "Apology," attached himself to the French court, and attained a lasting fame as a jurist, historian, and Biblical commentator. But Arminianism was crushed in Holland by these severities. Episcopius, when suffered to return in 1624, appears to have broached a lax system, combining the tenets

of the Unitarians and Universalists, and the party never recovered its repute. In England the disturbance engendered by the Quinquarticular controversy was such as to suggest the Royal "Declaration" of 1628, still prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, protesting against "curious search" and strained interpretations of this formulary. In France the Protestants largely followed the divines of Saumur, Cameron and Amyraut, in rejecting the harsher features of Calvinism, and de la Place widened the divergence by discarding altogether the theory that Adam's sin was imputed to his posterity. Le Blanc and Pajon afterwards drew on their heads the censures of French and Dutch synods (1677, 1686) by a rejection of the whole theory of human depravity and inefficiency. The German Calvinists were equally averse to the Procrustean system prescribed by Holland; and the sentence of Dort was followed by intestine feuds in the Reformed Churches, which we shall not attempt to depict in detail. The ultra-Calvinists, or "supra-lapsarians," maintained that the Fall of our first parents was inevitable; the "infra-lapsarians" that it was only permitted not decreed; the Universalists and semi-Universalists impugned the Dort dogma, that the Atonement only affected a limited number of men.

Meanwhile the old and the new religions were preparing for that great thirty years' struggle (1619-49), which was destined not only to secure the freedom of Protestantism, but also to leave both religious parties sickened of proselytism, and content with

Political  
attitude of the  
two religion  
systems,  
1600-1619.

their existent line of demarcation. From 1600 to 1619 Romanism is actively aggressive. Sigismund III., though unsuccessful in Sweden, succeeded in eradicating Protestantism in his kingdom of Poland, and a rising of the Protestant and Orthodox Poles in 1608 only resulted in the imposition of civil disabilities. The indefatigable Jesuits, with Sigismund's help, even attempted to Romanize Orthodox Russia by espousing the cause of the impostor sovereign Demetrius. Other princes speeded the progress of the reactionary movement throughout the Empire. The Archduke Ferdinand, afterwards Emperor, had in 1597 vowed at Pope Clement's feet to restore Catholicism in his hereditary dominions. His exertions in suppressing the Protestants of Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, were emulated by his cousin, the Emperor Rudolf, who expelled the Reformed clergy from Upper and Lower Austria, and even attacked the Utraquists of Bohemia. Rudolf's attempts were, however, checked by an insurrection which transferred a large part of his dominions to his brother Matthias, and this prince was forced to requite his elevation by a cession of religious freedom. Meanwhile Protestantism was raising bulwarks against the aggressions of the rival faith. The princes of the Empire after vainly struggling at the Diet of Ratisbon, 1608, for a corroboration of the Peace of Augsburg, organized the "Protestant Union." At its head were two princes of the Palatinate, two of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the Margrave of Baden. But the formation of the Union was followed by that

of the "Catholic League," initiated by Maximilian of Bavaria and seven ecclesiastical princes, and joined by Ferdinand and Spain. By the Union and the League the field was cleared for the great war of 1619-49.

We have yet to notice France. Here Protestantism was countered by moral influences rather than by persecution. The Romanist reaction had been fostered, not by intriguing Jesuits only, but by devotees such as Francis of Sales and Mme. de Saint Beuve. It had given birth to various new Orders—the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, the Priests of the Oratory, the Congregation of St. Maur, the educational guild of Ursulines, and the Sisters of Mercy. Even under Henry IV. the Protestants had sustained many desertions from their ranks. After his death in 1610, the influence of Mary de Medici gave the Catholics a decided predominance in the Court, and in the Assembly of the States. But the attitude of France in the great politico-religious crisis belied her convictions. She takes the part dictated by the policy of Richelieu, and in fact turns the scale in favour of Protestantism.

The conflict begins with Bohemia's refusal to accept the persecuting Ferdinand as Matthias' successor. In his stead she set up Frederic the Elector Palatine, a Protestant, connected by birth or marriage with the ruling houses of England, Denmark, and the Netherlands. In the struggle ensuing the divisions of Protestantism were soon fatally significant. Ferdinand was advanced by the aid of Protestant princes to the

Exceptional  
policy of  
France.

The Thirty  
Years' War and  
its results.

imperial dignity, and John George, Elector of Saxony, at first fought on his side. For a while indeed the cause of Romanism attained conspicuous successes. The battle of Weissberg, 1620, speedily put an end to Frederic's aspirations in Bohemia; and Ferdinand arbitrarily deprived him of his ancestral dominions. The confederacy of which Christian of Denmark was the general, arrayed itself against the Emperor, only to be routed by Tilly and the Bohemian Wallenstein. These triumphs persuaded Ferdinand that he could eradicate Protestantism from the Empire. All Protestants were ordered to withdraw from Austria. Mass was made compulsory throughout Southern Germany; and churches which for half a century had been centres of Reformed worship were made over to the priests. In direct violation of the pledges given by former Emperors, all Protestants who had acquired ecclesiastical property were summoned to disgorge. Groaning beneath these requisitions, and harassed by the exactions of Wallenstein's troops, Germany appealed to Gustavus Adolphus, 1630. A series of victories brought the great Swede to the very heart of the Empire. He was assisted by the sacrifice of Wallenstein to the hatred of Ferdinand's nobles, and by the policy which induced Richelieu to subsidize his invasion, Pope Urban VIII. repeats at this juncture the part of Clement VII.; and sacrificing the Church's cause to the hatred of the Empire, sanctions Richelieu's policy. It is only stipulated that Gustavus shall not molest the Roman worship. We need not follow Gustavus' triumphant march from Pomerania to the fatal field of Lutzen,

1632. His death arrested but did not turn the tide of victory, and the Protestants, with Richelieu's aid, maintained their ground during the sixteen years ensuing. The Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, which ended the struggle, secured the freedom of Holland and Switzerland, and the indemnification of Sweden. The German Protestants obtained an endorsement of the Peace of Augsburg, and an abrogation of the imperial edict for the restitution of ecclesiastical property. France, which had done so much to assist the Protestant triumph, gained for herself the extension of her frontier in the direction of the Rhine. The territorial limits of the old and new religions are henceforth demarcated. Rome retains her hold in France, the Peninsula, the Southern Netherlands, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and Bavaria. Protestantism rules in North Germany, the Northern Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Some of these Roman acquisitions were of recent date. Hungary had reverted to Romanism in 1625, owing chiefly to the exertions of Archbishop Pazmany. In Bohemia, the cradle of the Reformation, the Utraquist ritual had been extirpated, cir. 1622, by the activity of Gregory XV., an ardent patron of the Jesuits, and the founder of the "*Congregatio de propaganda fide*."

From 1611 to 1640 the great "free will controversy" had ceased to perturb the Roman world. In the interval, however, a work of the Jesuit free-lance "Augustinus," Garasse, in which the moral paradoxes of his Order were carried to a ridiculous extreme,

Free will  
controversy  
revived.

Jansen's  
"Augustinus,"

had called forth from the Abbé de Saint Cyran a crushing rejoinder, 1625-6. Garasse has been styled "l'Hélène de la guerre des Jésuites et des Jansénistes." Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, was the intimate friend of Saint Cyran. Both were convinced that a thorough moral reform was needed in the Church. The former was applying himself to a vindication of the rigid Augustinian doctrine of Grace, while the latter pushed the cause of semi-mystical asceticism. The respective fruits of their labours were the "Augustinus" and the fraternity of Port-Royal. The "Augustinus" was a posthumous publication. Jansen bequeathed it (1640) to the Pope for judgment. The book, while presenting the great Latin Father as the inspired exponent of the doctrine of Grace, lashed the moral system of the "Massilians" in terms which every reader applied to the Jesuits. Edition rapidly followed edition. The Jesuits used every effort to convince the world that the "Augustinus" was heretical, and persuaded Urban VIII. to publish the bull *in Eminentissimi*, 1643, condemning it in general terms. But in the same year there issued from Port Royal the "Fréquente Communion" of Antoine Arnauld, sapping the doctrine of the *opus operatum* by its demand of spiritual qualifications in the communicant, and insisting on the moral tenets ignored by the Jesuit confessors. The "Théologie morale des Jésuites" followed it, 1644. Port Royal had already supplanted the French Jesuits by its reputation for sanctity. Henceforward it is the centre not only of the highest spiritual life, but of



the best literary efforts of the age of Louis XIV. At present its most noted figures were Saint Cyran, le Maître, Arnauld, and his sister Angelique. Against Port Royal and the Jansenist clergy the Jesuits conducted a protracted warfare. Their former foes the Dominicans were won over by questionable expedients to their side. The leading French divines were persuaded to petition Rome for a more definite censure of the "Augustinus." Innocent X. in 1653 accordingly pronounced a condemnation of five propositions extracted by Cornet, the Paris theologian, from the work of Jansen, viz.,—

(1) There are Divine commandments which good men, though willing, are unable to obey; and the grace by which these commandments are possible is also wanting. (2) No person in the state of fallen nature is able to resist internal grace. (3) In order to render human actions meritorious or otherwise, liberty from necessity is not required, but only freedom from restraint. (4) The semi-Pelagians, while admitting the necessity of prevenient grace, were heretics, inasmuch as they said that this grace was such as man could, according to his will, either resist or obey. (5) The semi-Pelagians also erred in saying that Christ died for all men universally.

The Jansenists, though discomfited, professed to accept the Papal bull, on receiving an assurance from Innocent that Augustine's doctrine of *gratia efficax* remained untouched. But their enemies did not let the matter rest here. They persuaded Alexander VII. to declare in a bull (1656), that the condemned propositions were contained in the "Augustinus." The Jansenists refused to acknowledge this decision, declaring that Papal infallibility did not extend to cognizance of matters of fact. At this juncture their cause was

The Jesuit  
persecution of  
the Jansenists.

favoured by the appearance of miracles at Port Royal. A less questionable influence in their behalf was the issue of Pascal's celebrated Provincial Letters, 1656-7. Here the casuistry of the Jesuits was made the butt of a trenchant satire, which roused laughter in every part of Europe. Yet the fatal alliance of the Papacy with the Company of Jesus remained for the present unimpaired. The young King Lewis XIV. professed a devoted subservience to the Pope. The Jesuits pushed the question *de droit ou de fait* to an issue, by persuading Alexander to enforce on all who held preferment in France a formula asserting that the five propositions were in Jansen's "Augustinus" (1665). The Jansenists vainly sought some mode of evasion. The oath was rigorously enforced, and the recusants were harassed with banishment, imprisonment, and other penalties. This persecution abated in 1668, when Clement IX. limited the Papal demand to a general condemnation of the propositions. Clement reinstated four Jansenist bishops, and Port Royal was again peopled with devotees of both sexes. But Lewis, who however wavering his own allegiance to Rome, was consistent in his cordial dislike of Jansenism, revoked "the peace of Clement" by the edicts of 1676 and 1679. Among those who fled from this second outbreak of persecution was Antoine Arnauld, who became the founder of the Jansenist party in Holland. The Jesuits were not satisfied till Port Royal was demolished by royal order in 1709.

The Jansenists were not the only school within the Roman Church that affronted the Jesuit

system by its high spiritual aims. The peculiar form of transcendental theosophy termed Persecution of the Quietists. "quietism," which has in every troubled age of the Church been the resort of pietists of retiring disposition, now inspired the schools of Molinos and Mme. Guyon, in Italy and France. The same principles actuated these quietists that attracted Ruysbroek, Tauler, and Gerson in the 14th century, and the canonized Theresa in the 16th. But the high spiritualism which raised Gerson to European fame, and made Theresa a saint, was now punished as a heresy. Molinos, a Spanish priest, had made the cause of "holy indifference" and "disinterested love" popular in Italy, even in the court of Innocent XI. His "Spiritual Guide," 1675, went rapidly through many editions in different languages. It was the task of the envious Jesuits to find in the transcendental pietism of this work a disparagement of all objective worship. Lewis XIV. was persuaded to rebuke the Pope's encouragement of heresy, and Molinos was sacrificed by Innocent. He was imprisoned, and despite his disavowal of the Jesuits' charges remained in durance till his death in 1696. Similar is the story of Mme. Guyon, for a time the idol of Parisian society, patronized by Mme. Maintenon, admired by Fénelon, then slandered and disgraced by the malignant Bossuet, and relegated to the Bastille. Fénelon's literary warfare with Bossuet on this subject ended in an appeal to Innocent XII. The influence of Versailles again turned the scale of justice, and the Archbishop of Cambray sub-

mitted to the Papal censure. Of the other noted names in the Quietist school we need only mention Petrucci, Malavalle, and La Combe, Mme. Guyon's instructor. A kindred Protestant development of pietism produced in England the Quaker sect, to be noticed hereafter.

We quit the Roman Christianity with a brief account of the Popes of the century. A signal improvement is noticeable in the lives of the pontiffs. They contrast with their predecessors of the pre-Reformation period as mostly men of unstained character. Often they attempt to reform the abuses of the Roman Court; but with no permanent success. Innocents XI. and XII. (1676, 1691) are conspicuous in this connexion. Despite his enlarged pretensions to infallibility, the Holy Father's power abroad is obviously on the wane. Not only do the Estates of Germany limit by strict provisions the jurisdiction of the Papal nuncios; faithful Spain herself restricts the interference of Rome in her territory. France repeatedly under Lewis XIV., 1643—1715, sways the policy of St. Peter's chair, and humiliates its occupant. Under Alexander VII., some affront to the French ambassador brought Lewis's forces into Italy, with the result that the pontiff signed a most humiliating peace at Pisa in 1664. Clement X., 1670, complained repeatedly of Lewis's impious use of the *regale*. When his reforming successor, Innocent XI., abetted two French bishops who had refused to receive Crown nominees to canonries, Lewis XIV. qualified his belief in Papal infallibility by the celebrated assertion

The Papacy in  
this century.  
The Gallican  
Liberties tabu-  
lated.

of the Gallican Liberties, 1682. The French divines were convened at Paris to confirm these four propositions: (1) Popes may not depose kings, absolve subjects from allegiance, or interfere with temporal jurisdiction. (2) General Councils are superior in authority to Popes. (3) The rules and customs that have been received in the Gallican Church are to be preserved inviolate. (4) Papal decisions are only infallible when they have received the consent and approbation of the Church. Vainly did Innocent and Alexander VIII. fulminate against these Articles, and retaliate by refusing pall and investiture to bishops of Lewis's nomination. The upright Innocent XII. at last effected a compromise on the matters at issue, and Lewis consented to withdraw the Gallican Articles in 1692. This struggle had the effect of emphasizing the ancient French claim to independence of Rome, but the Church only experienced a change of masters. Fénelon's words are a true account of the Gallican attitude for the next hundred years. "In practice the King of France is more the head of the Church than the Pope. Liberty towards the Pope—servitude towards the King."

The Lutheran bodies after the Treaty of Westphalia continued free from external mo-  

*Lutheranism.*—  
*Calixtus: the*  
*Pietists.*

lestation. The most striking incidents in their history at this time were the rise of two parties, somewhat resembling the Broad Church and Evangelical schools of the later English Church. Calixtus of Sleswick, a learned theologian, was fired with the hope of substituting the reign of charity for that of dogma. His endeavour to introduce a system

of mutual toleration in lieu of the narrow sectarianism of the age was premature and unsuccessful. The conference at Thorn, 1645, for composing the differences of the Lutherans and Reformed bodies, only fostered fresh animosities, and Calixtus died in 1656, branded with Romanism, infidelity, etc. His enemies tried after his death to make renunciation of "Calixtianism" a test of Lutheran orthodoxy. More conspicuous and longer lived was the Pietist movement headed by Spener, Franck, and Schade. The Pietists took exception to the dry dogmatic character of Lutheran Christianity. Religion of the heart, they declared, had given place to that of the head, prayer to disputation. Spener was chief pastor at Frankfort-on-Maine. In 1675 he published his "*Pia Desideria*," urging the general need of reform in the conduct of religious teaching. The agencies to which he had recourse were prayer meetings, and Biblical lectures, the so-called "*collegia pietatis*." These institutions incurred obloquy successively at Frankfort, Leipsic, and Berlin, as promoting disorder and fanaticism. Nevertheless they spread rapidly throughout Germany. Rational exegesis of course succumbed before the pretensions of unlettered spiritual guides, and the fatal principle now struck root that the Bible is to be interpreted by modes inadmissible in other literature. Eventually Halle became the centre of the Pietist movement, and here a university was founded for the pursuit of its quasi-mystic theology. The Wittenberg theologians taxed Spener with heterodoxy, but he refuted this charge in his "*True Agreement with the Confession of Augsburg*." Never-

theless, the movement was generally regarded as pernicious. The fact that severe laws were passed against the Pietists in many principalities argues that their system was subversive of public order, if not of moral restraints. Its best work was done by Franck, whose Volksschulen were the first German organization for purposes of public education. In the next century the visionary or fantastical traits of Pietism are represented by Count Zinzendorf, the anarchical or Puritan by Arnold and Dippel.

Here we may conveniently notice the speculative Pietism of the Dutch Spinoza, *b.* 1632, *d.* 1677. Spinoza's speculative theosophy. Spinoza, after breaking the bounds of Jewish orthodoxy and incurring expulsion from the synagogue, effected a combination of Christian ethics with the metaphysics of Descartes, which, though at first banned throughout Europe, has won admiration for its logical precision and the loftiness of its spiritual aspirations. Spinoza's most noted works are the "Tractatus" and the "Ethica." The former differentiates the provinces of theology and philosophy, attacks sacerdotalism as socially injurious, and expounds the Bible in a rationalistic method. The "Ethica" exhibits the doctrines accepted by this "Euclid of metaphysicians" in mathematical form. Spinoza, though described by Novalis as a "God-intoxicated man," drew on himself charges of Pantheism, even of Atheism, by these writings. His true character is rather that of a Theosophist. God in Spinoza's system is the identity of the *natura naturans* and the *natura naturata*.



The Universe is "the Deity passing into activity but not exhausted by the act." There is no substance but God. The human mind is part of the infinite intellect of God.

The "Reformed" bodies of the Continent continued to be perturbed by the various developments of the free-will controversy. Gro-  
 tius, who was so prominent on the Arminian side, is conspicuous as anticipating the dawn of true Biblical exegesis

The Calvinistic  
 bodies.—Grotius  
 treatment of  
 Scripture.  
 Revocation of  
 Edict of Nantes.

in his treatment of the Old Testament. His efforts to recommend a rational treatment of Scripture and define the limits of prophecy were hotly opposed by the school of Cocceius, which attached a mystical significance to every line of the Bible. Among the ablest of Grotius' disciples was Voet. The most important incident in the political history of the Reformed Churches was Lewis XIV.'s fatal revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. Under Henry IV. the French Reformed had maintained the position of a petty commonwealth possessing towns, castles, and troops. By the policy of Richelieu they were reduced to dependence, and henceforward it was attempted to recover them to Romanism by argument and coercion. At last by the advice of the Jesuits, Lewis XIV. deprived them of civic status by revoking the Edict of 1598, and some 500,000 French subjects were thus driven to England, Holland, and America. A little later the ancient sect of Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont, which had formed an alliance with the Calvinistic Protestants, underwent a cruel persecution (1686—1696).

The most flourishing scion of Calvinistic Christianity at the end of the century was the Kirk of Scotland, whose fortunes we shall trace before depicting those of the English Church. We have noticed James I.'s desire to introduce the English Episcopalian system into Scotland. In 1606 the Parliament at Perth had consented to restore "the state of bishops with all its ancient rents and privileges." But the consecration of the prelates was not provided for till 1610, when Spottiswood of Glasgow went with two other bishops to London, to be consecrated *per saltum*, without receiving deacon's and priest's orders. It may be doubted whether the Scotch would have ever heartily accepted the Episcopalian régime. But that it drew on itself a speedy and long-lived detestation was due to the same causes that wrecked the English Church in 1642. The Stuart policy of over-riding the clergy by a strained use of "royal supremacy" reached its fatal climax in Scotland in 1636. Before this, the General Assembly had been so far humoured that it passed (by 86 votes against 49) the Five Articles of Perth, which authorized kneeling at the Eucharist, private communion of the sick, private baptism of the sick, confirmation, and observance of the great Christian festivals (1618). It was proposed at the same time to prepare a Scotch Prayer Book similar to that of England, to supersede the "Book of Common Order" bequeathed by Knox. But probably no attempts were made to put this scheme into execution. There is no proof that Scotland had warmed towards the Anglo-Catholic

Triumph of  
the Calvinistic  
system in  
Scotland.  
History of the  
Kirk in this  
century.

ideal, when Charles, in 1633, inflicted on the northern Church a code of canons by royal authority. These canons astonished the Scotch by the introduction of the eucharistic altar at the east end of the church, and the clerical deacon ; they ignored "kirk sessions," and all other machinery of self-government ; they even prohibited extempore prayer and private religious meetings. When this stroke of autocracy was followed, in 1636, by the authorization of a Prayer Book on the English model, prepared by only two Scotch bishops and revised by the hated Laud, Scotland rose in a frenzy of fanaticism. Not only was the new apparatus of Liturgy and Canons swept away, all ecclesiastical procedure since 1606 was revoked, and the Presbyterian system of 1592 re-established. The bishops were tried, deposed, and excommunicated, on charges of "Arminianism, popery, whoring, adultery, incest," etc., 1638. Even the private use of the Liturgy was proscribed by the severest penalties. In the period of disorder ensuing, the General Assembly became practically the governing body of Scotland. It received the gratulations of the English Parliament in 1643, and forthwith became inflated with a project for the "reformation of religion in England and Ireland, and the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, and schism." These high aims were embodied in a Solemn League and Covenant, and were for a time countenanced by the English Parliament, the Westminster Assembly of 1643 being summoned to effect "a nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland," and being attended by Scotch commissioners. The "Westminster Confes-

sion," though short-lived in England, became the boast of the Scotch Church, and appears to deserve rank at the head of the Calvinistic formularies. The Westminster "Directory for Public Worship" was also adopted in Scotland for liturgical purposes in lieu of Knox's "Common Order."

The Restoration of Charles II. brought renewed, more politic, but utterly unsuccessful attempts to re-establish Episcopacy. A wide latitude was to be accorded in the conduct of the services. The only manifestation of tyranny was the deprivation of some 250 ministers who refused to be instituted by the new bishops. But the murder of Archbishop Sharp showed how deeply the changes were resented, and the Episcopalian cause was soon opposed by a wild fanaticism, which was humoured by the Romanist James II. and allowed to triumph by the Protestant William III. The Orange sovereign restored the ecclesiastical status of 1660, and not only legalized the "rabbling of the curates," but persecuted in Scotland the religion of which he was the ostensible supporter in England. All Scotch Episcopalians were called upon to acknowledge the new dynasty as reigning *de jure* as well as *de facto*. The private exercise of their religion was punished by the Scotch Privy Council, and in 1695 the "outed ministers" were forbidden to marry or baptize on pain of imprisonment. The persecution of Episcopalians did not cease with this century. Queen Anne's reign indeed brought a respite, but from 1714 to 1792 the only tolerated representative of Scotch Christianity was the Presbyterian Establishment.

We now notice the singular fluctuations of fortune

experienced in this century by the English Church. James I., though inclined to Scotch Calvinism, was well content to accept an ecclesiastical system in which the dignity of the sovereign was recognised, and endeavoured as we have shown, to restore episcopacy to his native land. The Church assumed in this reign that attitude of deference to absolutist principles which was to cost it so dear under Charles I. In the ecclesiastical procedure of James, synodical sanction was ignored, or only sought *ex post facto*. The most notable events are the Hampton Court Conference of 1603, which terminated in the discomfiture of the Puritan party; the publication of a Prayer Book (1604), which besides minor innovations, included Dr. Overall's Catechism on the Sacraments; and the issue of the justly celebrated Bible Translation of 1611. James' successor was a pronounced Anglo-Catholic, devoid of tolerance and tact. The principles of conformity and absolutism were pushed by Charles and his vigorous primate Laud, to the ruin of both Church and throne. Parliament at once became a centre of hostility to the Anglican system, and men learnt to associate the idea of personal liberty with that of Puritanism. On one side we find clerical advocates of royal absolutism, such as Mainwaring and Montague, promoted to Bishoprics, in defiance of popular sentiment. On the other we find the Commons denouncing the Church as a hotbed of "Arminianism," and passing a Bill asserting the Calvinistic interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. When

The English  
Church under  
James I. and  
Charles I.

Charles, harassed by the Opposition to his irregular methods of taxation, suspended Parliament altogether (1629-40), Laud assumed the rôle of a royal vicar-general for ecclesiastical affairs. Religious innovations were now introduced, which, however commendable their character, were necessarily disparaged by the precipitate, informal, and harsh methods used in their enforcement. Among these high-handed measures, we notice the limitations on the office of preacher or lecturer; the suppression of the Puritan feoffees of St. Antholin's; the conversion of the chancel-tables into altars placed eastwards; the withdrawal of the toleration hitherto accorded to the worship of foreign Protestants; and the outrageous demand that the clergy should endorse from the pulpit the view of the Sunday question favoured in King James' Book of Sports. The attempt to enforce a Liturgy on Scotland has been already mentioned. The consequent disturbance in the north compelled Charles to summon a Parliament, and this body wreaked a cruel vengeance on the clergy for the misgovernment of the King and the Primate. A "visitation of Churches," ordered by the Commons in 1641, resulted in acts of vandalism which have left their traces on our noblest English fanes. The bishops were harried and imprisoned to secure an excuse for decreeing their expulsion from the House of Lords. The Root and Branch Bill followed (1642), abolishing episcopacy. In 1643 the Westminster Assembly was summoned to devise a new ecclesiastical system on a Presbyterian basis. The clerical representatives for each county were nomin-

ated by Parliament itself, and as the Episcopalian clergy almost unanimously declined attendance, the fautors of Presbyterianism were only resisted by the Independent and Erastian sections. It was ordered at this time that the "Covenant" of Scotland should be read in all churches, and sworn to by all adults. The Westminster Directory was installed in the place of the Prayer Book in 1644: next year the use of the latter was penalized. Laud was beheaded. His mismanagement brought imprisonment, expulsion or ruin upon some 7000 clergy, whose only offence was excess of loyalty to the throne and the Episcopalian system. But though the livings were mostly usurped by Presbyterians, the nation was in no humour to accept the high ecclesiastical pretensions of the Scotch Kirk, or to establish consistories on the Calvinistic model. To the autocratic Cromwell the Scotch system was really scarcely less repulsive than the one he had overthrown. Presbyteries were indeed established in London; and Lancashire and Shropshire accepted the full Calvinistic organization—Bolton becoming known as the "English Geneva." But Presbyterianism had failed to strike root in England before the execution of the King in 1649. This event alienated the Protestants of Scotland and Ireland from the Parliamentary cause. The Irish Presbyterians themselves soon incurred persecution at the hands of Cromwell's Independents, and their co-religionists in England had enough to do to keep the livings they had invaded. The test henceforward forced upon the Anglican clergy instead of the hateful Covenant was a political one—the "Engage-



ment," repudiating the functions of the King and House of Lords.

England was for the next eleven years a centre of religious discord. Of the Protestant sects that now predominated some still comprise numerous adherents both in England and in America. The rise and history of these may here be conveniently dealt with.

*The Independents.*—The originator of this sect was Robert Brown, a Puritan Norfolk clergyman. Brown anticipated the "Libellers" of Elizabeth's reign by scurrilous attacks on the Anglican system, 1570–80. He fled from England only to get into fresh trouble in Holland and Scotland, and eventually came home to make his peace with the Church, and die in the enjoyment of a living. His principles survived his recantation, and the Brownist or Independent system was further developed at Leyden by another refugee, named John Robinson, in 1610. The first regularly constituted Independent congregation in England was planted by Robinson's disciple, Henry Jacob, in 1616. The peculiar feature in this system is that each congregation is a law to itself. The Episcopalian gradations of orders and the Presbyterian gradations of judicial assemblies are alike discarded. The ancient theory of a Church co-extensive with the nation gives place to one of innumerable isolated centres of religious life. The theology of the Independents is of a Calvinistic hue, but is necessarily of an elastic or negative character. It not only finds all things necessary to salvation in the N. T., but breaks the continuity of religious history by a sweeping repudiation of all Fathers, traditions, councils, canons, and creeds. The officials are two—"pastors," charged with the work of preaching and praying, and "deacons," on whom devolves the management of affairs in each congregation. The pastoral office is regarded as the counterpart of the prophetic function in the O. T. Its occupant is called to his work by the voice of the individual congregation. The Independent system was planted in America by the emigrants of James' and Charles' reign. Its fautors there perpetrated great cruelties on the Romanist and Quaker colonists, and the Independent theory of "the equal concern of every man in religion" was found not a whit more favourable to religious tolerance than

sacerdotal exclusiveness. The ground thus preoccupied has not yet been recovered by Anglican agencies, and the Independents are numerically the largest religious body in the United States. In England they rank second of the dissenting sects in point of numbers. The most noted Independent writers are Dr. Watts, Dr. Doddridge, and Dr. Pye Smith. For purposes of association, County Unions and a Central Congregational Union have been formed in modern times.

*The Baptists.*—The turbulent Dutch Anabaptists of the sixteenth century have been noticed. About 1550 a system of more rational character, was bestowed on this sect by Menno, once a Roman priest. Menno modified the Anabaptist theories regarding the millennium, the inadmissibility of magistrates in Christian communities, the prohibition of oaths, and the uselessness of learning. The peculiar features in the sect are its denial of baptismal grace, and its consequent limitation of Christ's visible kingdom to such as have consciously experienced a call. The Dutch Baptists obtained indulgence from William of Orange in 1572, and gained full toleration in 1626. In England the sect obtained no permanent footing till the reign of James I. Its theories were highly offensive to the Presbyterians of the Commonwealth, and in 1648 a sentence of imprisonment was passed on all who should disparage Infant Baptism or insist on repetition of Baptism. Like other religious bodies, the Baptists were embroiled on the question of the Divine decrees, and in 1660 the "General Baptists," who maintained the Arminian doctrine that Christ died for all men, broke away from the "Particular Baptists." Another and earlier ramification was the sect of Seventh Day Baptists, who insisted on the observance of Saturday in lieu of Sunday. The General Baptists largely lapsed into Socinianism, and the Particular Baptists are now regarded as representing the parent stem, which has thrown off altogether some dozen sectarian ramifications. Two chief classes of Particular Baptists are mentioned—the Free Communionists who cede, and the Close Communionists who refuse the Holy Communion to those who have been baptized as infants. The system of government is similar to that of the Independents, each congregation being theoretically complete in itself, and independent of authority. In 1832 an association of Anabaptist bodies was formed with the title "Baptist Union." This, however, has no power of interfering with individual congregations.

*The Quakers.*—Friends, or Children of Light, were the creation of George Fox, a visionary shoemaker, who was moved to interrupt the public services with rhapsodic utterances cir. 1647. But

the principles of the sect were really first systematized by three educated men, Barclay, Keith, and Fisher, cir. 1660. They included a mystic or transcendental system, starting from the same point as the contemporary Quietism of the Catholic Molinos. Religion consists in turning the mind from external objects. The Bible is but a mute guide pointing to the living Master resident in the soul. This internal Teacher can convert even those ignorant of revelation, and the heathen can thus "carry Christ" in their hearts. The aversion of the Quakers to fixed ceremonial and even social conventionalities is in harmony with this disparagement of all objective methods. In the spiritual system of this body the sacraments have no place. There is no ministerial system; the preacher is the person who feels himself at the moment inspired to speak. The enlightened are enabled, as in other Quietist systems, to attain a state of moral perfection. The Quakers incurred much hostility in Cromwell's time, both for repudiation of secular ordinances and for theological laxity. For many years those who emigrated to America were barbarously persecuted by the dominant Independent body. Under Charles II. the Quakers were frequently imprisoned for their conscientious aversion to oaths, tithe-payment, and military service. Their leader, William Penn, obtained, however, in 1680, a grant of an American province in reward for his father's services. Penn found favour with the intriguing James II., who employed him in important state affairs, and extended toleration to his followers. William III. included the Quakers in his cession of religious indulgence, and henceforward they suffered only in the New World. A split was caused in this sect in 1695 by Keith's attributing to our Saviour a twofold human nature. The Quakers have largely aided the cause of philanthropy and tolerance. Their members have always devoted themselves chiefly to commercial pursuits, and here their system of brotherly co-operation has ensured them conspicuous success. The extreme opinions and peculiar practices of this, as of other religious bodies, have vanished in the light of an intellectual age. In parting with these, however, the Quakers have largely forfeited their popularity with the lower orders.

The death of the Protector was followed by a re-suscitation of the Long Parliament, and a temporary revival of Presbyterianism, 1658. Soon, however, it became impossible to misinterpret England's wish for the reinstatement

The English  
Church at the  
Restoration.

of Church and King. Charles, by Monk's assistance, was restored to a realm sickened of sectarianism and anarchy. The new Parliament hastened to strengthen the Church with an Act of Uniformity even before the Savoy Conference had finished its revisions. The hopes that were largely entertained that this assemblage would set some limitations on episcopal autocracy proved barren. The moderate party were cheated of the promises held out in Charles' "Worcester House Declaration," and the topic of synodical organisation was laid aside for another two hundred years. Those who demanded "the true primitive presidency in the Church with a due mixture of presbyters" in lieu of the autocratic episcopate of later times, were thus largely alienated from the Anglican system. A committee appointed by the Savoy Conference now effected a final revision of the Liturgy. The changes, though not numerous, were significant as emphasizing the doctrinal position of the Anglican Church in regard to sacraments. According to the Act of Uniformity the new Prayer Book was to be accepted by all incumbents before Bartholomew's Day, 1662. This date marks the ejection of some 1,800 non-conforming incumbents from the livings they had invaded. The legitimate possessors had suffered so much more severely in 1643-58 that these persons (who were often illiterate tradesmen and artizans) obtained little sympathy with the public.

The tortuous ecclesiastical policy of Charles II. who, if he had any religion, was a Romanist, need not be traced out. The true key to the procedure of this

and the following reign may be found in French history. Charles and James imitated their Bourbon ancestor Henry IV. in seeking to sustain themselves against the Church by earning the gratitude of the sects. The antagonism of the Commons to the Crown therefore now expresses itself in Acts hostile to Dissent. Such were the Conventicle Act, 1664, and the Five Mile Act, 1665. Charles' attempt to issue a Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 was quietly over-ridden by the Commons, which, suspecting the true intention of such proposals, proceeded to pass statutes for repressing Romanism. The Test Act of 1673, which was not abrogated till modern times, obliged all civil and military officers to disown the doctrine of transubstantiation, and acknowledge the king's ecclesiastical supremacy. The close of the reign was marked by the outburst or invention of politico-religious plots, and the liberties of Romanist subjects were now further curtailed.

The Church  
under  
Charles II.

The Church  
under James  
II. The Revo-  
lution and the  
Nonjuror

James II., a pronounced Romanist, came to the throne, against the general wish, and adopted his brother's artifice of affecting concern for the Dissenters. His first proceeding was to order the release of the Romanists and Quakers imprisoned for refusing the oath of supremacy. Singularly little sympathy was shown by the Pope for the Romanizing policy which brought about the English Revolution. Innocent XI. doubtless disliked the Stuart doctrine of absolutism. He was also at issue with James' staunch ally, Lewis XIV., on the subject of the Gallican liberties. We

notice only the salient features in the procedure of 1685-9. Disregarding the Test Act, James admitted Romanists to civil, military, even to ecclesiastical offices. The Benedictines were established at St. James', the Jesuits at the Savoy, the Franciscans at Lincoln's Inn. Parker, a Romanist at heart, was made Bishop of Oxford. When Dr. Sharp preached against Romanism at St. Giles, his diocesan, Compton, was ordered to proceed against him, and for refusing was suspended by a High Commission Court. The Cambridge Vice-chancellor was dethroned for refusing to remit the oath of supremacy in favour of a Benedictine monk sent up by James for an M.A. degree. The fellows of Magdalene, Oxford, were ejected for declining to elect a disreputable Romanist as their President, and their college was made a Roman seminary. Similar attempts were made to tune the municipal corporations and the lord-lieutenancies to the King's darling aim. The crisis came when James ordered his Declaration of Indulgence to all religions to be read in every church. Seven bishops incurred imprisonment for petitioning against this mandate. Their trial and triumphant acquittal was immediately succeeded by the petition to William of Orange. But the prelates, though ready to accept William as Regent, were unwilling to go the length of deposing the Stuart sovereign. The Revolution therefor brought fresh trouble on their heads. Only two bishops consented to take the oath of allegiance to William. The others were deprived together with some 400 nonjuring incumbents. A new line of bishops was consecrated by the nonjuror prelates in



1694, and a schism, in which many High Churchmen joined, was kept alive till the end of the next century. Sancroft, Ken, Leslie, Hickes, Dodwell, and Nelson are the most noted names in the nonjuror party.

The new sovereign was a Presbyterian. Save where, as in Scotland, political exigencies interfered, his policy was one of religious toleration. Nonconformists were exempted by the Bill of 1689 from other tests than the oath of supremacy and a repudiation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, Dissenting ministers being, however, compelled to sign an expurgated edition of the 39 Articles. A Bill was even proposed, capacitating Dissenters for receiving Orders, on declaring a general approval of the Anglican doctrine, worship, and government. The High Church party was rendered unpopular by its partiality for the Jacobite cause. Utter disregard for its proclivities was shown by Tillotson in his scheme for revising the Prayer Book, and in his high-handed dealings with Convocation. This body only secured a grudging permission to meet in 1701, and its sessions were preluded by violent controversy. Many years were to pass before the English Church, hampered by the suspicions of sovereigns and Parliaments, and the pedantry of statutes, could attempt to introduce her doctrine and organization among the English settlers of the New World. The missionary and educational spirit, however, was not dormant, and this reign witnessed the foundation of the two great Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and of Christian Knowledge.

The Church  
under William  
III.



This age was fruitful in great English divines. The episcopate of Charles II. included the learned Jeremy Taylor; Pearson, the author of the treatise on the Creed; Walton, the editor of the Polyglot Bible; Cosin, the liturgiologist; and Gauden, the reputed author of the *Eikon Basilike*. Among the clergy were South and Barrow; also Bull, whose "*Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*," 1685, elicited a special vote of thanks from Bossuet and the French bishops. Cambridge gave birth to the distinguished group known as the "Platonists," who apparently did more to stem the infidelity and profligacy which mark this age than the apologists and dogmatists above named. Cudworth, author of the "*True Intellectual System of the Universe*," is specially noticeable, as countering the narrow materialism of the necessitarian Hobbes. Other Cambridge Platonists were Henry More, Whichcote, Gale, and Norris. The Platonists were spiritually minded scholars, who steered a middle course between the enthusiasm of the mystics and the cold rationalism of the rising latitudinarian school. Of the latter, Chillingworth, author of the aphorism "the Bible only the religion of Protestants," was unintentionally the founder. The assault on indiscriminating faith finally engendered the so-called "Deism," which attained such popularity in the 18th century. At present it filled the high places of the Church with men whose rational pietism sometimes perilously resembled a frigid indifference to spiritual things. The typical divines of the latitudinarian school are Burnet, Patrick, Tillotson, and

Great English  
Churchmen of  
this century.  
Missionary  
agencies.

Tenison, the two latter successively (1691–95) Archbishops of Canterbury.

The Eastern Church is noticeable in connection with Urban VIII.'s attempts to close the ancient schism. Several works were written at this time by Roman divines, to show how trivial the differences were which kept the Greeks, Armenians, and Nestorians from the Communion of the West. Cyrillus Lucaris however, the learned Patriarch of Constantinople, was opposed to schemes of reunion, and in fact showed a decided leaning to the principles of the Reformed bodies. The hostility of the Jesuits was thus roused, and eventually brought about the execution of this Patriarch in 1638. His successor, Cyrillus of Berrhœa, had been the agent of the Jesuits in his destruction, and would fain have brought the Greeks to the Roman obedience. But he too was executed after a reign of little more than a year, and his successors were averse to schemes of reunion. In the Russian Church we notice the schism (cir. 1666) of the Isbraniki, or “company of the elect,” pietists who desired ecclesiastical reform rather than any doctrinal changes, but who experienced severe persecutions till the time of Peter the Great. In this reign the ecclesiastical system of Russia was altered by the suppression of the Patriarchate, and the absorption of its powers by the Crown. From 1700 to 1720 Peter was represented in the Church by a kind of Vicar-General; henceforward it was ruled by a Holy Legislative Synod of imperial nominees, at the head of whom was placed a representative of the Czar, with power of negating

the Synod's resolutions. Peter abolished the practice of persecution, and though he took care to check the propagation of Romanism in Russia, adopted in the main the principles of religious toleration.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THIS century opens with the pontificate of Clement XI. (1700-21), the author of the fatal "Vineam Domini" and "Unigenitus." The dissensions consequent on these bulls largely account for that general revolt against the old order which shortly infects the whole Romanist world, and at last culminates in the proscription of Christianity by the National Convention of France. Both bulls were outcomes of the Jansenist controversy. The prominent phase of the dispute in France was now, whether the last sacraments should be accorded to such ecclesiastics as had refused the oath that the Five Propositions were in "Augustinus." The Sorbonne had at first espoused the side of leniency, but had changed its opinion at the instance of Bossuet. The leading Jansenist writers were condemned to imprisonment or exile, and the Jesuit triumph was confirmed by the Vineam Domini, which insisted that all Christians must give an undoubting assent to the Church's decisions on matters of fact. The demolition of Port Royal followed, 1709. But the Jansenists still held the field of controversial literature. The second bull was provoked by

Quesnel, already famous as the editor of a French New Testament with notes of a marked Jansenist colouring. In Quesnel's "Moral Reflexions" the view taken of Christ's kingdom is practically that of Calvin. A deep gulf separates the "elect" from "sinners." The latter ought not to hear mass. Even their prayers are sinful in God's sight. This exaggeration of Jansenism was met by the more pernicious exaggerations of the *Unigenitus*, 1713. While condemning 101 propositions taken from Quesnel's book, this bull anathematised even the most modified expressions of the Jansenist tenets as to sin, grace, and justification. It also enunciated the doctrines most offensive to the Reforming Catholics with startling precision.

Although the *Unigenitus* received countenance at Versailles, it was viewed with intense dislike by the French nation, and indeed by the Romanist world generally. The Jansenist cause henceforth becomes identified with that of Gallicanism. De Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, joined in the appeal from the offensive bull to the verdict of a General Council. Jesuit influence, however, was powerful enough to obtain for the *Unigenitus* the force of law in France. The "Appellants" were silenced by sentences of deposition and banishment, and the Society of Jesus secured against the combined forces of piety, learning, and patriotism, a victory which was shortly to cost it dear. The drift of popular opinion was indicated by the credit attached to the miracles, visions, and prophecies of the Jansenist devotees. In 1731, the

The "Appellants." Spread of Jansenist and Gallican opinions.

wonders worked at the tomb of Francis de Paris, a Jansenist ascetic, necessitated a royal decree, forbidding access to the spot. Nor was it in France only that the Augustinian theology became popular. Devout and thoughtful men propagated it in Austria, Spain, and Portugal; and in Italy it gained a marked ascendancy. In the Netherlands the Jansenists, protected by the Protestant government, established an archi-episcopal seat at Utrecht. The French Appellant bishops consecrated this archbishop, and suffragan sees were afterwards founded at Haarlem and Deventer. This branch of Catholicism (of which the "Old Catholics" of to-day are an offshoot) maintained a complete independence of Rome, and headed the general revolt against the ultra-montane tendencies of the Jesuits. "In every country," says Ranke, "two parties were formed; one making war on the Curia, the accredited constitution, and established doctrines of the time; while the other laboured to maintain things as they were, and uphold the prerogatives of the universal Church. The last was more particularly represented by the Jesuits, and it was against them that the storm was first directed."

Rome itself was not always blind to the damaging results of Jesuit casuistry. A noted gravenamen against the Order was the accommodation of Christianity to the religion of Confucius by its missionaries in China. This questionable proselytism was censured both by Clement XI. and Innocent XII. Later on (1740) there succeeded to

Jesuit pro-  
selytism and  
commercial  
speculations.  
Benedict XIV.  
attempts to re-  
form the Order.

the Papacy a prelate who regarded the whole fraternity with unconcealed dislike. The mercantile enterprises of the Jesuits had long been viewed with jealousy in Portugal, as injurious to the national commerce. To Benedict XIV. they appeared to be inconsistent with the high religious aims which had inspired Loyola and Xavier. But the Pope's conferences with Carvalho on the method of reforming the Society, were interrupted by his death, and the next Pope, Clement XIII., was chiefly animated by a desire to re-establish the ancient pretensions and temporal splendour of the Papacy. It was in this pontificate that the spirit of the eighteenth century obtained the mastery, and began its ravages on the mediæval Papal system.

The first success was in Portugal, where an attempt on the life of the king, of which three Jesuits were found to have had cognizance, resulted in the expulsion of the whole Order, 1759. In France the crisis was precipitated by the failure of a mercantile house in Martinique, with which Father Lavallette was connected, and the refusal of the Jesuits to acknowledge their liability. The litigation ensuing brought light to bear on the constitution of the Order, and its status in the eyes of the law. Special stress was laid by its adversaries on its antagonism to the four Gallican propositions, and on the unlimited powers of the foreign Jesuit General. Even the French bishops decided that these powers were incompatible with the laws of the kingdom. All that Lewis XV. could do for the menaced Order

Clement XIII.  
and the over-  
throw of the  
Jesuits.



was to beg Ricci the General to appoint a resident-vicar, pledged to obey French law. Ricci refused to save the fraternity by this modification of its constitution. His "*sint ut sunt aut non sint*" was endorsed by Clement XIII., who declared it impossible to upset arrangements, sanctioned by the Council of Trent, and confirmed by so many pontiffs. By this uncompromising attitude the ruin of the Order throughout Europe was determined. France at once decreed that the Institution of the Jesuits was designed to subvert all authority, ecclesiastical and civil, and that it should be excluded from the kingdom irrevocably and for ever, 1762. Bohemia and Denmark took similar steps in 1766, and the Bourbon regencies generally adopted the French procedure as a family policy. Charles III. of Spain suppressed the Order by a sudden blow, on the pretext that it was conspiring to raise his brother to the throne, and his example was followed by Naples and Parma. The Duke of Parma turned the attack against the Holy See itself, by forbidding all recourse to Roman tribunals and all nomination of foreigners to the ducal benefices. Clement vainly launched his censures. The whole house of Bourbon made common cause with Parma; and Avignon, Benevento, and Pontecorvo were immediately occupied by their forces. The Pope turned to Austria, but here Maria Theresa refused to regard the dispute as a matter of religion. No course was left him but to temporise with the Bourbon ambassadors, who were demanding the complete extinction of the Jesuits by Papal decree. At this juncture Clement III. died, 1769.

The French and Spanish cardinals now secured the elevation of a ruler of very different character—the genial Franciscan, Gan-  
 ganelli. Clement XIV. at once revoked the Papal sentences against Parma, made peace with Portugal, and entered on an exhaustive consideration of the case against the Jesuits. Obviously but one course was open. It was one damaging to Papal assumption, yet not ungrateful to a Pontiff of Franciscan training and Thomist tenets. Clement XIV. fortunately discovered that the Council of Trent had only alluded to the Jesuit Order, without formally approving it. The Papal decrees in its favour might, he argued, be revoked in view of the changed times. Thus Clement justified the famous Constitution, “*Dominus ac Redemptor noster*,” by which the entire Order (numbering now some 20,000 men) was suppressed, and its clerical members ordered to fall into the ranks of the secular clergy, 1773. The Pope professes to be “impelled by the duty of restoring concord, convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer effect the purposes for which it was founded, and moved by other reasons of prudence and State policy.” On the charges generally brought against the Jesuits he does not pronounce sentence. The Brief was violently resisted at Rome. Ricci, who headed the insurgents, was relegated to the castle of S. Angelo. The death of Clement XIV. shortly afterwards was attributed by many to Jesuit machinations. For the rest of the century the Jesuit Society was in abeyance. The freaks of fortune impelled this great bulwark of Papal assumption to seek an asylum

Clement XIV.  
 suppresses the  
 Society of  
 Jesus.

in lands that disowned the Pope. Orthodox Russia and Protestant Prussia were henceforth its chief protectors.

Ere Clement XIV. died, the religious disputes in Poland had contributed to bring about her political extinction. In this country the spread of Socinian opinions had caused a wide severance of the two religious platforms, and given the Romanist majority a pretext for depriving the "Dissidents," or Protestants, of all political rights. The Dissidents in an evil hour for their nation appealed for redress to the grasping courts of Petersburg and Berlin, and by these the flame of religious animosity in Poland was henceforth sedulously fostered. In 1767 the Diet was compelled by Russian troops to restore the Dissidents to their ancient privileges. It was impossible that the triumph thus obtained by the minority at the cost of their country's independence should result in religious harmony. The feuds were only embittered. Their continuance served as a pretext for the partition of this distracted country between Russia, Prussia and Austria, 1772.

The overthrow of the Jesuits necessarily convulsed the world of Romanism to its very basis. It was the fall of the outworks of mediæval Popery. Assaults on the citadel rapidly followed. They culminate in the overthrow of religion and order by the frenzied Republicans of France. From this point the tide of opinion again flows in the direction of Conservatism. The restoration of the Jesuits, and the reactionary Catholicism of the 19th century are the consequences. After

The  
partition of  
Poland.

Attacks on the  
Papal system in  
various  
countries.

Ganganelli's death we find the old ecclesiastical theories assailed in every province of the Roman Church. In Tuscany, Leopold, the future Emperor, conducted a Reformation on the lines of our Henry VIII. The questionable steps by which Papal supremacy had been established were exposed. The Inquisition was suppressed; religious pageantry was diminished; the spiritual courts were brought under control, the clergy taxed as laymen. More important was the revolt in Austria. The Emperor Joseph II. was bent on consolidating all national agencies in the hands of the Crown. Austria, in this reign, underwent changes which, though conceived in the spirit of despotism, were undeniably beneficial to its Church. Joseph's reforms (1780-92) included restrictions on Roman bulls; prohibition of pilgrimages; an abolition of mendicant monks; a conversion of half the monasteries into colleges, hospitals, and barracks; and a demand that the surviving establishments should subserve pastoral or educational purposes. Not only was liturgical splendour diminished; it was ordered that the vernacular should be used for all services except the mass. Full toleration was accorded both to Protestants and Greeks. These important measures brought an interpellation from Rome in the form of a visit from the Pope himself. Pius VI. was received at the Austrian court with due honours, but he failed to stay the hands of the reforming Emperor. Spain, herself, had caught the anti-Papal spirit. She claimed liberties akin to those of the Gallican Church, and she reduced the Inquisition to a mere engine of political tyranny. In Portugal a restriction was

placed on the adoption of monastic vows, and a larger licence accorded to the press. Nearer the centre of Catholicism, Venice was suppressing monasteries, Naples obliterating all traces of her feudal dependence on Rome, a synod at Pistoja propounding a manifesto embodying the principles of Jansenism and Gallicanism.

This general revolt against the old order strongly influenced the cause of the Revolution in France. The same tendencies which led prelates to the limitations on Papal authority roused the clergy to resent the autocracy of their diocesans. In France this feeling was fostered by the restriction of ecclesiastical dignities to the scions of the aristocracy. Not unnaturally, therefore, the revolutionary movement was at first abetted, not only by the Jansenist party, but by the French parochial clergy generally. Even a few of the prelates were found abetting the alliance of the clerical deputies with the Third Estate in 1789. But this alliance was destined to cost the French Church dear. The Convention proceeded to abolish tithes, on a vague understanding that religion should be provided for in another way. Shortly afterwards the landed estates of the Church were confiscated to relieve the financial embarrassments of the country, and the clergy were made public stipendiaries, with a loss of four-fifths of their incomes. The Civil Constitution of August, 1790, reduced the Bishoprics to the same number as the departments, suppressed Chapters, and ordered that both prelates and incumbents should be elected in the same way as the

Course of the  
French  
Revolution.  
The Civil  
Constitution.  
Abolition of  
Christianity.

deputies. In November, 1790, an oath to support the new Constitution was demanded of all incumbents. The Pope had already condemned it. Boisgelin, Archbishop of Aix, now headed the clerical resistance with his "Exposition of the Principles of the Christian Faith," a document which was signed by all the French bishops and the doctors of the Sorbonne. On the day prescribed, Archbishop de Brienne and three bishops alone took the oath; 127 prelates refused it. New bishops were appointed to Talleyrand and his associates; and the schism of the *prêtres assermentés* and *non-assermentés* rent the Church of France. The nonjuror clergy were made liable to imprisonment and exile. The *assermentés* soon deprived themselves of all claim to respect by their share in the revolutionary excesses. Many of those who had seats in the Convention voted for the king's execution. The climax was reached when Gobet, Bishop of Paris, and his grand-vicars abjured Christianity in the hall of the Convention, November, 1793. Officiating clergy were now made liable to imprisonment or exile. The churches were plundered. The goddess of Reason was installed at Notre Dame, and the tenth day of rest substituted for the Christian Sunday.

The general craving for religion necessitated a modification of these measures in 1797.

Public worship was again sanctioned, and a Council of 38 bishops and 53 clergy met in Paris to vote a profession of faith based on the creed of Pius IV. To propitiate the ruling powers, this

Christianity  
again tolerated.  
The Ecclesiastical Council.  
Procedure of  
Pius VI.

Council allowed that an oath against the restoration of royalty was not incompatible with Christianity. Its proceedings were communicated to Rome, and a request was made for the convocation of a General Council. The Pope, however, was not in a position to consider this demand. Pius VI. had maintained throughout an attitude of rigorous conservatism. He had launched sentences at the *prêtres assermentés*, and even during the war in Italy had denounced the Jansenist and Gallican doctrines of Pistoja in the bull "Auctorem Fidei." When the French authorities now demanded, as the price of peace, his revocation of these edicts, and an acknowledgment of the Civil Constitution, he refused acquiescence. Rome was accordingly invaded and sacked, by order of the Directory, and the Pope was taken a prisoner to France. The complete extinction of the Pontificate seemed imminent. When Pius VI. died at Valence, in 1799, the Directory endorsed Bonaparte's instructions to his brother, prohibiting the appointment of another Pope.

The Protestant systems fared scarcely better than Romanism itself in this age of upheaval. Decadence of the Lutheran system. New schools of philosophy. Lutheranism maintained its tenure in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; but in the land of its birth, its principles were sapped by the assaults of modern philosophy. At the close of the century, the essentials of German Christianity seemed likely to survive only among the Pietists. This party, under Count Zinzendorf, 1722, had given birth to the so-called Moravian Brethren, an important body, which claimed to follow rigidly



the doctrine of John Hus, and which became renowned for missionary and educational enterprise. The reign of rationalism in Germany was inaugurated by the great optimist philosopher, Leibnitz (*d.* 1716), whose attempted reconciliation of theology and philosophy only represented the Deity as the prime intelligent monad. This "strayed scholastic," in his relations to religion, contrasts strikingly with his great rival Locke, who regarded the two as distinct provinces of human cognizance. Wolf, whose system rose from obloquy to triumph *cir.* 1740, by extending Descartes' maxim "*cogito, ergo sum*," appears to have made the powers of human conception the gauge of all religious verity. From this it was an easy transition to the position that man has sufficient light without a revelation. The old beliefs fared little better when Descartes' philosophy was succeeded by that of Kant, though the latter could be accommodated to Christianity by such assumptions as Jacobi's—that there is a supra-sensible faculty of intellectual intuition, which deals with spiritual things. Nor was religion benefited when philosophy of more introspective character led on to the systems of subjective idealism propounded by Fichte and Hegel. Outside the province of metaphysics, Ernesti's school of literary criticism had hastily endorsed a system of negation, and linked itself with the materialist or utilitarian philosophy. Paulus and Semler are the typical theologians. In the former's exegesis miracles and prophecies are of necessity unsubstantial, the only orthodoxy being conscientious pursuit of historical truth. Lessing, the great ex-

ponent of the utilitarian philosophy, depicted Christianity, Judaism, and Mohammedanism, as equally true and equally false, and regarded all religions as only designed to develop man's moral powers and faculties. Despite prohibitive edicts, such as that of Frederic William II. in 1788, the new schools of thought attained wide popularity in Germany. Orthodoxy, a cause which in England now produced writers of undying fame, found few Continental advocates of any note. The clergy generally appear to have contented themselves with pressing the importance which the great Kant had attached to morality. An edict commanding preachers to abstain from mere moralizing, and maintain the authority of the Scriptures, was actually issued by Frederic William II. in 1794.

The theological attitude of the "Reformed" bodies was equally diverse from that of their Decadence of the Calvinistic system. originator. Switzerland rejected cir. 1720, the narrow "Formula Consensus," which Heidegger had established in 1675 as a bulwark against the incursions of the French Arminians. Changes were made in the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the various Reformed communities. In fact, although maintaining an attitude of mutual tolerance, these bodies had now little in common, and the narrow dogmatism of Dort had given place to a latitudinarianism leavened as in Germany with much agnostic philosophy. Scotland, at the close of the century, stands almost alone, as a maintainer of true Calvinistic religion.

Such periods of religious decadence are usually

marked by the rise of strange mystic systems. But the minds that might have been attracted by quietist forms of religion appear to have now attached themselves to the negative schools of philosophy. The only system of the kind deserving mention is that of the Swedish scientist, Swedenborg (*d.* 1772), who combined with the usual quietist aspirations some very singular views of the Trinity, and of the second Advent. His opinions, though little favoured on the Continent, gained a permanent footing in England, where the "New Jerusalem Temples," in which Swedenborg is venerated as a prophet, numbered seventy in 1879.

We now review the course of religious events in this country. The English Church received encouragement and generous treatment from Queen Anne, and attained in this reign a condition of great prosperity and usefulness. The first-fruits and tenths, which under Henry VIII. had passed from the Pope to the more tenacious grasp of the Crown, were by Anne restored to the Church. Henceforward these revenues supplied the well-known "Queen Anne's Bounty Fund," devoted mainly to the augmentation of poor benefices, and building of parsonages. The Lower House of Convocation still resented the recent infringement of its rights, and discredited itself in this reign by factious opposition to the prelates. Archbishop Tenison's irregular prorogation of Convocation in 1706 paved the way for its unconstitutional suppression under George I. During the ascendancy of the Whigs, the High Church school were in disfavour with the govern-

Swedenborg's  
mysticism.

Anglicanism  
under Queen  
Anne.

ment, and attained proportionate popularity with the public. The notorious Sacheverell case ruined the Whig ministry. Dr. Sacheverell had justified the popular cry, "the Church in danger," by exposing the deference of the Whigs to Nonconformist encroachments, and denouncing the religious policy of the Revolution. The ministry foolishly made him a martyr, 1710. His cause was taken up with enthusiasm by the populace; and though a three years' suspension from preaching was part of Sacheverell's sentence, the queen showed her sympathy by bestowing preferment on him. A dissolution of Parliament resulted in the return of a House largely composed of Tories and High Churchmen, whose views maintained an unimpaired popularity till the end of the reign. Harsh measures against Dissent were now proposed. Though the Nonconformists had obtained liberty of worship by the Toleration Act, the Test Act still required all military and civil officers to be Anglican communicants. It naturally resulted that the sacrament was often received by Nonconformists as "a picklock to a place." Instead of abolishing the Test Act, the Tory Parliament dealt with this abuse in the spirit of senseless intolerance. In 1711 it passed the Occasional Conformity Act, fining officials who should attend Nonconformist chapels. In 1713 came the Schism Bill, practically suppressing Dissenting schools by the requisition that the masters should be Anglican communicants. Anne's death prevented this Act from coming into operation.

The literature of the English Church was at this

time enriched by the works of Beveridge, Prideaux, Wall, and Bingham. Her fame abroad was such that Frederic I. ordered a German translation of the Liturgy. Hopes were even entertained of restoring the Episcopal succession to the Protestant bodies by Anglican agency. Yet more remarkable were the overtures for a union of the English and Gallican Churches, made to Archbishop Wake by certain doctors of the Sorbonne, shortly after the issue of the offensive bull *Unigenitus*. Du Pin's letters on this subject 1717-18, show how small a gulf divided the French Appellants from an Anglican prelate, of by no means High Church tenets. It is instructive to notice that the only barriers to union discovered by the French doctors were certain of the Thirty-nine Articles, viz., Articles XXI., XXV., XXVIII., XXXI., XXXVII. Du Pin maintains in short—that General Councils cannot err; that the five Roman sacraments should be admitted; that without mention of transubstantiation, our Church ought to assert the change of the consecrated elements; that the sacrifice of the Saviour is repeated in the Eucharist; that the Pope, albeit without claim to immediate spiritual jurisdiction, is the primate of Christendom. The negotiations were fruitless. Du Pin died, and the transaction was discovered by the ever watchful Jesuits, who took care to expose it in the darkest colours.

But long before Wake ended his primacy, this golden age of Anglicanism had passed. The clergy generally resented the accession of a dynasty, which only forsook Lutheranism

Prosperity of  
the English  
Church. The  
Gallica  
overtures.

The Georgian  
decadence.

to qualify for the Crown. The Episcopate was consequently filled under Georges I. and II. with men of lukewarm Churchmanship, sometimes learned, but elevated mainly for their attachment to the new dynasty. Between these prelates and the working clergy there was little sympathy. In 1717 Convocation was peremptorily dissolved for censuring Hoadly's Erastian sermon on "The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ." By persistent refusal of the necessary licence the Church's representative body was kept silenced, and its abeyance was destined to last 137 years. The Georgian governments made it their aim to suppress the Romanists and non-jurors; reduce the Church, as a centre of Jacobite allegiance, to a state of enforced inertia; and secure the good-will of the Nonconformist sects. The offence of "constructive recusancy" was devised, two justices being empowered to tender oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration to suspected persons. In 1722, Walpole raised £100,000 by a tax on the estates of Romanists and non-jurors. From the same unscrupulous minister the Dissenters received the endowment termed "Regium Donum," which remained a fixed institution till 1863.

During the ensuing period of spiritual torpor infidelity made rapid progress. The  
The English  
school of  
Freethinkers. assailants of Christianity at this time were commonly, but inaccurately, styled "Deists." Locke's celebrated essay, 1690, is sometimes quoted as if the precursor of these petulant assailants. Really it stands on a different plane of thought. Moreover this father of modern psychology



distinctly insists on our conviction of the existence of God. Probably Locke's large but premature scheme of Christian reunion sufficiently explains this obloquy. The direct attack on miracles had, however, been opened in the 17th century by Toland's "*Christianity not mysterious*," cir. 1696. Shaftesbury's "*Characteristics*," followed in 1713, insidiously impugning the commonly received grounds of faith, while commending Christianity on utilitarian grounds. Mandeville's "*Fable of the Bees*," on the other hand, by representing the sins of men as necessary to the welfare of the State, undermined the sanctity of Christian morality. But the most dangerous works of this school were Anthony Collins' discourses "*On Free Thinking*," and "*On the Grounds of the Christian Religion*." Collins represented the Scriptures as forgeries, and specially aspersed the evidence from prophecy. His writings were afterwards used in France, where Diderot, d'Alembert, Rousseau, Voltaire, and the Encyclopædists conducted a similar attack on religion. Next came Woolston, who wrote in the character of a moderator between Collins and the Church, and incurred legal penalties by his coarse attacks on the literal view of the miracles. He was followed by Tindal, the chief exponent of real Deism. In "*Christianity as Old as the Creation*" (1730) Tindal argues that natural conscience had practically anticipated revelation, and that miracles were only inventions based on self-interest. Similar ground was taken by Morgan in the "*Moral Philosopher*," and by Chubb in a number of tracts written for the lower orders. To these



writings must be added Bolingbroke's posthumous Philosophical Works, which taught that the basis of religion, as of government, was selfishness, and presented a God omnipotent, but inconceivable and unrevealed. In the next generation Deism took the form of that sneering, unscientific scepticism, of which the chief representatives are Hume, Gibbon, and Paine.

The dignitaries of the Georgian Church made amends for their neglect of pastoral duties by their energy in writing against the new forms of infidelity. Among the earlier Apologists were Bishops Sherlock and Gibson (who respectively answered Woolston in the "Trial of the Four Witnesses" and the "Pastoral Letters") and Butler, the author of the immortal "Analogy" (1736). Warburton's "Divine Legation of Moses," and Berkeley's "Alciphron," were hardly less creditable to the episcopate. The later sceptics were ably confronted by Bishop Watson and Dean Paley. The clergy followed the lead with innumerable sermons on "the reasonableness of Christianity." It must be understood that at this time most religious persons, instead of enlisting the services of emotional Christianity, denounced it as "enthusiasm." This attitude was in no way altered by the era of argumentation. A cold rationalism took the place of religious zeal, and confirmed the apathy and indifference inspired by the ecclesiastical policy of the court. Outside the Church, religion was sapped by an outbreak of anti-Trinitarian theories. Dissenting synods at Exeter and Salters' Hall had split on the subject

English  
vindications of  
Christianity.

of the 1st Article of the English Church. The Salters' Hall controversy was succeeded by a predominance of Unitarianism among the Nonconformists, and specially among the Presbyterians. This form of Christianity is noticeable as attracting some of the most noted men of the century—Locke, Newton, Samuel Clarke, Lardner, and Whiston.

From this lethargic condition the English Church was roused by the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys. Their work, however, The Methodist movement. was destined to result in the most important schism that the Anglican fold had yet sustained.

John and Charles Wesley, as youthful Anglican pietists, had in conjunction with George Whitefield, established the Holy or Methodist Society at Oxford, for the pursuit of religious exercises. Both became clergymen. Wesley, as a missionary in Georgia, learnt from certain Moravians the doctrines of instantaneous "conversion" and accompanying "assurance," 1738. Whitefield imbibed similar tenets among the French Protestants in London, and was led to accept the Calvinistic doctrines of final perseverance and irresistible grace. These the brothers Wesley rejected. Hence the separation of the Methodist movement into two distinct streams—the Calvinistic and the Arminian. The warmth and eloquence of the Methodist leaders achieved extraordinary successes among the neglected lower orders. To the Georgian clergy, with their hatred of enthusiasm, the manner and the matter of their discourses were alike displeasing. It may be added that the Methodist cause was often disparaged by cases of hypocrisy, self-deception, and puerile superstition, and that Wesley himself evidently mistook hysteria for miraculous agency. It is nevertheless a reproach to the English Church that the Methodists were driven from her pale, and the severance was especially uncalled for in the case of Wesley's followers. The breach gradually widened from the time that the Methodist clergymen were refused access to the churches and resorted to open-air preaching. The increase of their followers and the need for official organisation soon evoked a machinery quite independent of the Established Church. At last certain Wesleyans, who

had been refused ordination by the bishops, took upon themselves to administer the Holy Communion, 1760. The Calvinistic Methodists in 1781 registered their chapels as Dissenting conventicles. Wesley himself, in his anxiety to secure an official organisation for his American converts, assumed episcopal functions, consecrated superintendents, and ordained presbyters, 1784. His own intense aversion to schism thus overcome, his followers naturally disregarded his last injunctions, to abide in the Church of England. Their Plan of Pacification (1795) established the preachers' right to administer Holy Communion. In 1797 the Methodist New Connexion broke off; in 1810 the Primitive Methodists; in 1815 the Bible Christians. Other secessions might be named. Similar has been the fate of Calvinistic Methodism. The main body received a new nomenclature from Lady Huntingdon, the foundress of the missionary college at Cheshunt. Its ramifications are numerically unimportant.

If weakened by these departures, the Establishment at least caught from the Methodists the <sup>The</sup> "Evangelicals," spirit of religious zeal. There arose in the Church a school of "Evangelical" pietists, who, while acquiescing in the Anglican principles, supplemented them with the tenets of the moderate Calvinistic Methodists. The Evangelical clergy aimed at conversion rather than guidance. They regarded the Scriptures as verbally inspired, made Luther's doctrine of imputed righteousness the basis of all their sermons, and attached little importance to sacraments, and none to externals of worship. Professing an austerity akin to that of the earlier Puritans, they denounced many ordinary diversions as unfit for the "converted." The Evangelical movement produced the first Sunday Schools; and caused the foundation of the Church Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society, and the Bible Society. Its most noted names are Fletcher, Venn, Toplady,

Berridge, Hervey, Newton, Romaine, and Rowland Hill. High Churchmanship, though accredited in this period by William Law's "Serious Call" and Wilson's "Sacra Privata," had now degenerated into a stereotyped ecclesiastical Toryism. The school of rational Godliness was as yet without the warmth of philanthropic zeal. To the Evangelicals, therefore, must be traced nearly all the religious life in the Church of the later Georgian age.

The English episcopate, as usual, was slow to accept the new pietism. Under George III. literary bishops gave place to con-  
The Episcopate  
under  
George III.  
Consecration of  
American  
Bishops.  
 nexions and dependants of the aristocracy, who mostly ignored the superintendence of their dioceses. Pluralism and non-residence deprived the people of their religious privileges. The sacraments were neglected. Care for the externals of worship was scouted as superstition. The ancient churches went to ruin, new fabrics were scarcely contemplated. But it is hard to say how far the Georgian bishops are to be reprehended for the paralysis of the English Church. How completely the State fettered their action is illustrated by the prolonged refusal of an episcopate to the American Churchmen. Despite repeated entreaties on the part of this scion of the Church, nothing was done on its behalf. It remained in theory under the charge of the Bishop of London, and practically of course without the rites of confirmation, ordination, or consecration. Not till the Independence of the United States was established, did the Americans secure an episcopal organisation. The English

prelates were now afraid to act because the obligation to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy was unrepealed. But they gladly made arrangements for the consecration of the American candidate, Dr. Seabury, by bishops of the down-trodden Church of Scotland (1784). In 1787 an Act of Parliament removed the difficulties in England. Two American bishops were now consecrated at Lambeth, and in 1789 the liturgy and canons of the American Church assumed their present form.

The principles of toleration made progress as the **Reversal of Coercive Acts.** Hanoverian dynasty gained a firm footing, and the Jacobite schism wore itself out. A sense of the injustice which Romanists suffered in respect to tenure of property, led in 1778 to a repeal of their disabilities in this regard. Even this scant measure of relief provoked a "No Popery" panic in Scotland, followed by the celebrated Gordon riots in London. In 1791, however, the statutes of recusancy were abolished, and English Romanists, though still deprived of political rights, were placed in respect to fiscal contribution on a level with their countrymen. Before this indulgence was shown, the leading Romanists in England had formally repudiated the Pope's right to depose princes and subvert governments.

Ireland was, of course, the hotbed of all Jacobite conspiracies. Here therefore the Roman-  
**Ireland.** ist majority lay throughout this century under statutes of a most oppressive character. Besides being excluded from the franchise and from public offices, the Romanist was debarred from

many professions. He was not allowed to buy lands, keep a horse, or marry a Protestant. Though the humanity of their neighbours doubtless made these restrictions often inoperative, the Romanists did not secure their abrogation till 1778 and 1782. From this time onward the policy of England has been one of conciliation and generous indulgence to Irish Romanism. In 1792 Pitt forced on the Irish Parliament measures for the admission of Romanists to the franchise, and to civil and military offices. The Irish Rebellion of 1798 suggested the political necessity of the legislative union of the two countries (1800). The result of this measure was a gradual removal of the grievances of the Irish people. Its tendency in the direction of religious conciliation was foreshadowed by Pitt's proposal of an "effectual and adequate provision for the Catholic clergy."

Scotland, on the accession of William III., had passed an Act rendering every Romanist who refused the "Formula" of abjuration liable to be stripped of his estates by the next Protestant heir. Penalties of this kind were not finally swept away till the Bill of 1793. The persecuted Episcopalians—despite the government's disgraceful subserviency to Presbyterian animosity at the time of the Union—obtained toleration under Queen Anne. An Act of 1712 protected their public worship, baptisms, and marriages. But the government of George I. did its utmost to crush these suspected fautors of the Stuart cause. Their clergy were forced to have their letters of orders registered in England, and the registration was im-

Scotland. The  
Episcopalians.  
The Kirk.



peded by every possible device. Many clergymen were at this time imprisoned or forced to emigrate. The Episcopalian services were in almost all cases conducted in secret. English hostility only ceased when the death of the young Pretender, in 1788, overcame the scruples of Scotch non-jurors, and prayers for George III. became unexceptionable. In 1792 the Scotch Episcopalians obtained full toleration, on the condition of the oath of allegiance and subscription to the 39 Articles. They had ere this (1764) accepted a new Communion Office based on that of the Prayer Book of 1549. The Kirk itself is conspicuous as remaining faithful to the Calvinistic model throughout this century of revolution. But it suffered repeatedly from schisms, and the system of patronage was a continual grievance to the stricter Presbyterians. By the Act of 1712 a presentation by an undoubted patron had of necessity to be sustained by the presbytery. This was resented as a flagrant deviation from the Calvinistic ideal of Church constitution. The malcontents were kept from open revolt by the influence of the great Scotch divine, Robertson, but the way was already prepared for the great schism of 1843. Of the secessions in 1733 and 1752 the "United Presbyterian" body is a development. It is said to number now about 12 per cent. of the Scotch population.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE successor to Pius VI. was indebted for his elevation to the exertions of the Emperor of Austria. The dispersed cardinals were brought together at Venice, <sup>Pius VII. The concordat with France.</sup> then part of the Austrian domains, and their choice fell on Chiaramonti, who took the title of Pius VII., and was shortly enabled by French reverses to enter Rome with suitable pomp. In 1801 the Pontiff was engaged in negotiations with Bonaparte. The First Consul was convinced that religion, as a means of moral restraint, was a necessary accessory to secular government. Pius was naturally desirous to restore Christianity to France at any sacrifice. The one threw up the cause of the Atheist doctrinaires, the other that of the non-juror Catholics, and the Revolution was hallowed by a Papal Concordat. The Pope recognized a hierarchy nominated by the First Consul and endowed with very meagre salaries, as the legitimate successors of the *non assermentés* prelates. He also resigned all claims to interfere in French ecclesiastical affairs without the sanction of the Government. Bonaparte further attested his respect for the Catholic faith, by ordering an observance of Sunday at the Government offices, and providing for the daily cele-

bration of mass at the Tuileries, within earshot of his own study. The foreign powers generally hailed with joy the restoration of Christianity in France, but these proceedings were naturally ungrateful to the plundered royalist bishops. Thirty-six of them issued a vigorous protest from their places of exile, when Pius (citing as a historical precedent an episode in the Donatist schism) urged that they should smooth his path by a resignation of their own just claims.

Europe was less pleased when the supple Pius hallowed the personal pretensions of Napoleon by attending his coronation at Notre Dame, 1804. His visit to Paris was by no means devoid of humiliating incidents, and it soon became plain that the new Emperor of the West would not assume the character of a Charlemagne. Three legations in the Romagna had been seized by France, and Pius vainly demanded their restitution to the Holy See. Ancona, his most important fortress, was occupied by French troops in the Austrian war of 1805. To Pius' remonstrances Napoleon coolly replied, that though the Pope was sovereign of Rome he himself was its emperor. It was impossible for the pontiff to accept this view of his temporal dominion. Henceforth he assumed an attitude of dignified resistance. Though Rome itself was occupied by the French, he refused the invitation to a Franco-Papal League. The invasion of the Quirinal and seizure of his person did not shake his determination. Pius was transferred to the state prison of Fenestrelles, Rome meanwhile being declared a free city and formally annexed to the French

Encroachments  
on Papal terri-  
tory. Pius'  
imprisonment.

Empire, 1809. He continued obdurate when the Moscow disasters of 1813 induced Napoleon to resort to milder methods of suasion, and at the time of the Emperor's overthrow in 1814 was in honourable captivity at Fontainebleau.

The catastrophes which had succeeded the upheaval in France necessarily permeated Europe with conservatism. Men panted for peace and stable institutions. Even Liberal statesmen had learnt to associate the cause of progress with that of anarchy and irreligion. Of the theory of government which created the Holy Alliance the Papacy at once took advantage. Its patronage of theories of government and religion which seemed moribund at the end of last century has been maintained almost uninterruptedly till the present time. Pius VII. was restored to his temporal dominion with the goodwill of the European powers. He at once inaugurated the era of reaction by a re-establishment of the Jesuits. Already (1801-4) the extinct society of Jesus had been revived by Papal decree in Russia and in Sicily. The bull of 1814, "*Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*," sanctioned its operations in all countries, and the governments were even urged to restore its confiscated property. Francis Karen, the Provincial of Russia, was to be the General of the whole Order. The Bull declared that this reversal of the act of Clement XIV. was demanded by "persons of every class," and was justified by the "vigour and experience" of the Jesuits. "in rowing the bark of St. Peter tossed by continual storms."

Restoration  
Pius VII. The  
era of reaction.  
Revival of the  
Jesuits.

The Holy Roman Empire had been ended in 1806, and Austria was neither able nor desirous <sup>The re-settle-</sup> to restore it. From its ruins rose the <sup>ment of Europe.</sup> Germanic Confederation, destined itself to be merged in the North German Empire of to-day. The Prince-Bishops had also experienced a final effacement. Their cities and territories were divided among the powers without regard to religious differences. The cession of Romanist peoples to Protestant rulers did much to provoke the strife about education and mixed marriages which henceforth is so conspicuous in Germany. Yet more maladroit was the policy which for sixteen years yoked Romanist Belgium to Protestant Holland in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. France received again the Bourbon *régime*, and the future relations of the French Church to the Papacy became the subject of protracted negotiations between Pius and Lewis XVIII. It was finally settled that the Concordat of 1801 should be repealed, and that the Pope should enjoy the same rights in France as in the times of Francis I. Notwithstanding the poverty and infidelity with which it had to contend, the French Church speedily attained comparative prosperity. But the old antagonism of the Jesuit and Gallican factions was again revived. Ultramontane influences were specially rife after the accession of the reactionist Charles X., who before his expulsion, was forced by popular clamour to close the Jesuit Colleges (1828). They were not reopened till the time of the second Empire.

Pius VII. lived till 1823. The other incidents of <sup>The Popes.</sup> his pontificate were the erection of a new

ecclesiastical system for Germany, and the conclusion of concordats with Sardinia and Naples. His successor, Leo XII., issued encyclics against pietism, liberal philosophy, Bible societies, and freemasons. He concluded a concordat with Holland; held a jubilee in 1824-5; and added several new saints to the calendar. Pius VIII. (1829), a man of letters and science, appears to have been desirous to effect a compromise on the mixed marriages question in Germany. His short reign included the troubled year 1830, and it was the Papal policy to recognize the claims of Louis Philippe and Don Miguel. The next Pope, Gregory XVI., while advocating the extreme doctrine of Papal tenure, proved himself utterly devoid of ordinary capacity as a ruler. An insurrection at Rome caused an assemblage of the Great Powers at Paris, and the issue of a memorandum recommending several reforms, especially the admission of laymen to the civil offices of the Papal government. But the Pope and his cardinals refused to make the desired changes. Fresh disturbances ensued; and Austrian and French troops occupied the Papal territory till 1838. Gregory's principal foreign transactions were connected with the continued troubles in Prussia. Frederic William IV. (1841) was persuaded by the King of Bavaria to make concessions to the Romanist party. The Archbishop of Cologne, who for his refractory behaviour had been imprisoned by this king's father, now obtained release, and religious equality was shortly ceded to all Prussian subjects. Pius IX. succeeded to the Papacy in 1846. The anarchical doctrines of Mazzini had now thoroughly penetrated the Papal States. The new

Pope endeavoured to meet the rising storm by playing the part of a liberal ruler. Alienation of the Ultramontane faction and exorbitant demands on the part of the humoured radicals were the consequence. When the French Revolution of 1848 broke out, Pius was compelled to grant a constitution to the Roman States, and expel the Jesuits. But fresh complications ensued. Count Rossi, the Pope's confidante, was assassinated. Pius himself had to flee to Gaeta in disguise. For eight months Rome was under a republican government. When Pius returned under French protection (1849), it was to embark on an ecclesiastical policy of the most reactionary character.

Even while coquetting with liberalism, Pius IX. had aggrandized the spiritual pretensions of the Roman See. On the eve of his own expulsion he had summoned the Eastern Patriarchs to accept the dominion of the Papacy, a demand which received a severe handling from the Byzantine ex-Patriarch Constantius. Shortly after his restoration the Vicars Apostolic, who had hitherto represented the Roman government in England, were superseded by a hierarchy of twelve suffragans under an Archbishop of Westminster. A similar measure was taken in Holland in 1853. The pretence that the claims of the Anglican and the Jansenist prelates were illegitimate provoked much irritation, and England was for a while disturbed by a "No Popery" panic. But these acts were of little importance in comparison with the issue of new dogmas, which were henceforth to be binding on all members of the Roman Church. A Papal decree

Restoration of  
Pius IX.  
Triumph of  
reactionary  
Catholicism.



of 1854 made it henceforth a heresy to doubt the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. A speculative opinion, declined by Augustine, denounced by Bernard, and only kept from extinction in the Middle Ages by the factiousness of Franciscan schoolmen, was henceforth to be "a truth contained in the original teaching of the Apostles, and an Article of Divine faith." Secure of the adhesion of France, where Napoleon III. had restored the Jesuit ascendancy, Pius IX. now revived the question of the Pope's spiritual autocracy. We have seen how the chimera of ecclesiastical infallibility had been limited at the Council of Constance. In the face of the decrees of Constance and the opinions of countless Roman divines, Pius IX. declared that the Church's infallibility was vested in her chief pastor the Pope. The new dogma was broached in an encyclic of 1864. A so-called Œcumenical Council was summoned to confirm it in 1869-70. The Eastern prelates were invited, with a stipulation that they should take no part in the procedure "till they professed the Catholic faith whole and entire." The Reformed Churches might send representatives, who should be "referred to experienced men, and have their difficulties solved." We need not say that in both quarters the invitation was treated with contempt.

The gathering of Roman bishops, abbots, generals of orders, etc., at the Vatican attained at its fullest the number of 764 representatives. The new dogma was embodied in a constitution "*de Ecclesia Christi*," which was the subject

The Vatican  
Council.



of keen discussion from Dec. 1869 to July 1870. The dislike of many of the divines for this last development of Ultramontane pretension was obvious at the outset, and the malcontent party included distinguished prelates—Hefele of Rottenburg, Darboy of Paris, Dupanloup of Orleans, Clifford of Clifton. When the dogma was first discussed there were 451 “placets,” 88 “non placets;” 62 divines voted “placet juxta modum” (*i.e.* with modification), and 70 did not vote at all. These proportions may be taken as gauging the unbiassed opinion of Romanists on the subject. Every means was adopted to reduce the opponent faction. Eventually 55 representatives formally declared their adverse opinion was unaltered, and absented themselves from the final session. The Constitution was then passed with only 2 “non placets.” The Pope confirmed it by Apostolic authority July 18th, 1870. On the same day war was declared between France and Prussia, and in a few months the temporal power of this pretentious Pontiff was ended by Victor Emmanuel. The Pope’s assumption of the *rôle* of a prisoner did little to arouse the sympathies of Romanist countries. Nor is there at present any symptom that Pius’ successor, the sagacious and accomplished Leo XIII., will secure a reversal of the measures which have practically struck out the Pope from the list of European princes. The enlightened reforms of the new Government appear to have won merited appreciation in Rome itself, which is probably prouder of its position as the centre of United Italy than of its time-honoured connexion with the Holy See.

The external relations of the Papacy have been marked by much discord. Only in Spain and Belgium and distracted Ireland can the Roman Church be said to exercise a moral sway consistent with the high pretensions of Ultramontaniam. Austria, it is true, succumbed to reactionary influences in 1855, and Francis Joseph's Concordat with Rome seemed likely to leave nothing of Joseph II.'s reforms save the vernacular service. The *placet regium* was resigned, the ecclesiastical courts were re-established, the education of the country was entrusted exclusively to the bishops. But these arrangements were overthrown by the legislation of 1867-8, as to civil marriages and education. The Concordat itself was declared to be suspended on account of the Vatican decrees, in July, 1870. Full civil and political rights had been granted to Protestant subjects in 1859. Of Ireland and the countenance given by the Irish priesthood to the crimes of political agitators there is no need to speak. The Vaticanism of Belgium is partly the result of the attempt to fuse in one kingdom two nations differing in religion, occupation, and antecedents. The revolution of 1830 was aided by a combination of the Jesuits with the ultra-radicals. The constitution of the new Belgian kingdom made the Church independent of the State, and at the same time ceded freedom of worship to all religions. The intolerant attitude of the Vatican in regard to mixed education has recently developed in Belgium a strong antagonism to the "clericals," and in the upper classes at least Ultramontaniam has lost its hold. Turning to France we notice that the

The Papacy  
and European  
Governments.

fall of the second Empire at once revealed the fact that the artificial Christianity of the Jesuits had struck root only in the rural districts. Vaticanism is disowned by almost all the intellect and culture of France, and hostility to the clericals has been a prominent feature in recent legislative enactments. The bigoted irreligion of 1792 from time to time recovers its ascendancy, and so-called Liberalism has avenged itself, not only on the Jesuits and the working clergy, but on many charitable organisations associated with the Catholic religion. In Germany Ultramontanism has been countered and foiled by the iron will of her great statesman. The old squabbles about mixed marriages and education have been disposed of by the steady anti-Roman strategy of the *Kulturkampf*. We tabulate the chief results: the subordination of the hierarchy in Prussia to a minister of religion appointed by the State, 1871; the ejection of Jesuits and other Orders from the German Empire, 1872-3; the enactment that German priests shall go through the curriculum of a German university, and the prohibition of new theological colleges, 1873; penalties laid on priests officiating without a Government certificate, 1874; arrangements for the State supervision of the religious instruction given to Roman Catholic children, 1876. In Spain and Portugal successive revolutions have inflicted on the Church considerable amercements and limitations of privileges, since the beginning of the century. It seems that here, as in Italy, France, and Belgium, a strong current of unbelief flows underneath the external profession of Romanism,

and that the stronghold of the priests is the ignorance of the lower orders. The Romanism of England, strengthened by the "Papal aggression" of 1850, has distinguished itself by successful proselytism in every rank of life. But we search in vain on the Continent for the anomalous spectacle of men of culture and intellect flocking to the Roman fold, to stupefy the craving for a reasonable faith with the anodyne of modern Ultramontanism.

It is, indeed, in respect of moral prestige, rather than of territory, that the losses of the Papacy are to be measured. The effect of the Vatican policy has been to relegate to <sup>Moral losses of Romanism. The Old Catholics.</sup> unbelief numbers who would have accepted the Catholicism of a Du Pin, a Pascal, or an Arnould. As yet no well-laid middle path diverts the steps of those for whom the mutual contradictions of infallible Popes and Councils are not satisfactorily explained by the modern Roman doctrine of theological "evolution." The schism of Ronge and Czerki (provoked by the absolutory exhibition of the "seamless coat" at Treves) failed because of its connexion with the cause of political anarchy, and the "German Catholic Church" of 1845 is now unknown. Of the "Old Catholic" movement it is impossible as yet to speak hopefully. With the history of this schism we close our account of the fortunes of Romanism.

When the Vatican decree of 1870 destroyed all hope of accommodating the liberal Catholicism of old times to the Ultramontane theories, Döllinger and Reinkens took measures to combine the malcontents in a new community. Döllinger was generally recognised as one of the foremost Roman theologians, and had headed the remonstrance of the German Universities against the Vatican

dogma. The Jansenist episcopate of Holland was appealed to; and by its intervention Reinkens received canonical consecration as the first "Old Catholic" bishop of Germany. In Switzerland the first bishop was Herzog, consecrated 1876. The Old Catholics began by introducing the vernacular mass, abolishing the invocation of saints, and reducing the number of saints' days. They have held various Conferences for the consideration of other reforms. Prominent divines from the Eastern and Anglican bodies have attended these synods, without committing their own Churches to projects of organic union. The chief difficulty of the Old Catholics has been the question of clerical celibacy. To abolish a restriction so dear to superstition, so capable of plausible defence, would, it was foreseen, be a step entailing disastrous consequences. These consequences were boldly faced by the synod of 1878, with the result that Döllinger and many others withdrew from the German movement, and that in Switzerland, according to Herzog's testimony, thousands of adherents were lost. Of the present prospects of the Old Catholics we have very conflicting accounts. The latest statistics represent them as numbering about 70,000 in Germany, and about 80,000 in Switzerland.

Lutheranism has assumed a very different form from that depicted in the Confession of Augsburg. Essentially (albeit at first unwittingly) a progressive religion, it has yielded much—possibly too much—to the spirit of an age, fertile in discovery, rapid in intellectual advance, impatient of pedantic restraint. The old Lutheran scheme, with its high ritual and dogma of consubstantiation, has now probably few adherents among educated Germans of Europe or America. The influence of the 18th century philosophers was, as we have seen, eminently destructive. The Peace of 1815 ushered in a period, certainly marked by higher moral aims, greater earnestness, deeper search for truth. But in Germany these traits cannot be connected with any triumphs of the ancient dogmatism. The genius of

Lutheranism  
in Germany.  
New develop-  
ments of  
theology.

the restoration of faith in Germany was Schleiermacher. But faith to Schleiermacher meant a theosophy of purely subjective character. The aim is that of many Catholic mystics—the sinking personal agency in a realization of God. But the old incentives to this aim have vanished. Miracles become a fabulous garb for the eternal truths of morality. Dogma is merely an attempt to present in logical form the emotions of the Christlike character. De Wette and Hase combined the systems of Jacobi and Schleiermacher, and gave to the new theology a more strictly rationalistic colouring. There was also the Hegelian school, identifying the essence of religion with the “Knowledge of the Absolute.” Intellect here occupies the place that Schleiermacher assigns to feeling. Finally, the philosophy of Hegel, combined with the new critical principles of Schleiermacher, evolved the Christianity of Strauss’ “*Leben Jesu*,” 1835. Strauss reduces all recorded supernatural events to the level of myths. “Christ is but an idea, or if He ever existed He was adopted by the Church as an expression of an idea, the true meaning of which is to be discovered by the philosophy of the Absolute.”

More permanent, and more generally intelligible have been the results of the application of literary criticism to the Scriptures by the laborious German commentators. Biblical criticism. The attempts of Protestants of the Pietist school to screen these writings from the light of historical scrutiny have recoiled, as such attempts must ever recoil; and Bibliolatry has incurred in the form of precipitate revulsions the same penalties as Vatican-



ism. The time has not yet come for a precise enumeration of the important results attained in the department of Biblical study. It is certain that few qualified commentators, even in England, now bring to this subject the *à priori* assumptions that were regarded as essential in the preceding generation. But it is equally evident that many of the Tübingen conclusions have been shown to be utterly unfounded. Old theories of Biblical inspiration have undoubtedly been permanently shattered. But the general authenticity of the Scriptures appears to stand, at least sufficiently unimpaired for all practical purposes. We shall content ourselves with tabulating the most noted theories of German scholarship, without attempting to indicate where we conceive them to outrun the limits of sober criticism.

In the New Testament, Baur, 1835, introduced a principle of design, as the key to future exegesis. Stress is laid on the conflict in the early Church between the Pauline and Petrine schools. The true foundations of Christianity are the genuine Pauline Epistles—Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians. The Acts are the production of a conciliatory school, which tried to harmonize the Pauline teaching with that of the Petrine faction, cir. A.D. 175. The Gospels are also compiled with design. Many arguments are urged in proof of the view that they are only recensions of earlier documents now lost. Baur's theories gave a colouring to other provinces of theology. A similar treatment of the Old Testament has been elaborated by Reuss, Wellhausen, Kuenen, and other noted Hebraists. The key here is a conflict of the subjec-



tive and objective types of religion, personified respectively by the Prophets and the Priests. The Levitical system becomes a bold innovation of the Sacerdotal party in times succeeding the Babylonish Captivity. That it is attributed to Moses is an anomaly that finds parallels in other ancient legislative systems. For altered views of the Old Testament the world was already prepared by Ewald, whose "*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*" was the first attempt to approach the literary history and doctrinal development of the Jews in a scientific spirit. By this great Hebraist all events prior to the Exodus were relegated to the province of primitive legend. But the pietist tone of Ewald and the deference paid to his own faculty of intuition are at variance with the professedly inductive system of Baur, to whom this critic was in his lifetime strongly opposed. A somewhat similar combination of pietism and aggressive criticism appear in the great Church-historian Neander, who thus differs from the strictly rationalistic Gieseler. Exegesis of a more conservative type has been ably represented by Delitzsch, Keil, Lange, Stier, Meyer, Olshausen, and others. The old Puritan views of the Hebrew Scriptures survive in the school of Hengstenberg. These are but a few of the many names which have done honour to German scholarship in departments to which our own country has contributed little really original matter.

The decline of dogmatic theology prepared the way for a corporate union of the Lutherans and Calvinists. The procedure in this regard has

been marked by that Byzantinism which has from the first characterised the Protestantism of Germany. Under Frederic William Union of Protestants and Reformed in Germany. II. the consistories of Prussia were superseded by royal Boards for administration of ecclesiastical business (1815). In 1817 this king issued orders for a union of his Lutheran and Calvinist subjects. Dogmatic standards were ignored, and the basis of the amalgamation was a colourless liturgy prepared by the sovereign himself for the use of his "United Evangelical Church." The high Lutherans who offered resistance were treated as dangerous sectaries. Hundreds of them were compelled to emigrate to America. The work was completed by a Cabinet order of 1839, abolishing the very name of Protestant. The example of Prussia was followed in other German states. Hesse Cassel, Baden, Nassau, Hesse Darmstadt, and the Palatinate of Bavaria were among the earliest to effect an amalgamation of anti-Roman elements, on the Prussian model. The spiritual autocracy of the supreme magistrates was subsequently modified by cessions of limited synodal constitutions. The dukes and princes, however, remained in fact the *summi episcopi*. Since 1870 the petty jurisdictions have been necessarily centralised, and the drift of all this ecclesiastical procedure is to make the Emperor the Pope of Germany.

Brighter have been the fortunes of Luther's symbols in the north. In Sweden Lutheranism, on a basis of episcopal organisation, holds its ground, and until lately no other religion was tolerated. Here the

Pietist sect of "Readers" for many years suffered persecution ; and as recently as 1858 six clergymen who were converted to Roman-<sup>Lutheranism in Sweden, Norway, Denmark.</sup>ism were condemned to exile. Norway adopted the principles of religious toleration in 1844. It has been disturbed by the influences of modern rationalism, but at present the tenets of classical Lutheranism appear likely to hold their ground. Denmark was strictly Lutheran till 1849, when a new constitution made the Government democratic in character, and allowed full freedom of religion. The influx of rationalism was followed by the attempts of the Government to enforce a new liturgy. This was successfully resisted by the exertions of the conservative divine Grundtvig.

The wreck of Calvinism is even more striking than that of the rival organization. The fate of Servetus was avenged when the "venerable company" of Geneva were themselves taxed with disowning the divinity of our Lord, in 1817. Their attempt to suppress dogmatic teaching was followed by various schisms. No scientific basis has yet been found for the revival of Reformed religion in Switzerland, which has been subject to pietistic, rationalist, and reactionary movements which we have no space to recount. Similar is the condition of the Reformed in France. Here the fundamental principle of Calvin's polity was ousted by Napoleon himself. The Imperial scheme superseded the Provincial Assembly by a *synode d'arrondissement* of ten members, who were to be absolutely [under State control]. Admission to the

The Calvinistic Churches in Switzerland, France, and Holland.

minor representative bodies, the *églises consistoriales*, was to be determined by taxable position. Henceforth the Reformed Church of France was subsidized by the State. It became a prey to the conflicting spirits of rationalism and methodism, and in 1849 the ministers issued a protest against the old Confession of La Rochelle. Adolphe Monod, the most important divine of this Church, was removed from his charge on the ground of Calvinism. At present there seems little prospect of the various embodiments of French dogmatic Protestantism attaining organic unity. Of free-thought in France the chief outcome has been the Positivism of Comte, which appropriates the Christian principle "*vivre pour autrui*," but excludes all belief in God and immortality as a dream of the world's childhood. On this system, with its attractive classification of the sciences, its repudiation of all the speculative philosophy of the metaphysicians, its final acceptance of the Catholic machinery of cults and hagiologies, we cannot attempt to expatiate. It has found many admirers of high intellectual capacity in England, probably more than in France or Germany. We search in vain for true disciples of Calvin in the former stronghold of the "Five Articles." With the changes of 1795, Holland parted finally with the rigours of a Calvinistic ecclesiastical constitution. The French dominion accorded a perfect equality to all religions, and the sudden relaxation opened a way for the free-thinking spirit which has since largely prevailed. The Constitution of 1816 gave the Dutch Church a full representative organisation, but made it subject in several particulars

to a royal *placet*. Greater freedom was awarded by the new constitution of 1852. But little sympathy exists for either the ecclesiastical polity or the predestinarian dogmas of Calvin. The general synod in 1854 passed a decree, limiting the essentials of religion to veneration for the Holy Scriptures and faith in the Redeemer of sinners, and no stricter tests have since been admitted.

The political relations of the Church of England have been re-adjusted in this century by the removal of the civil disabilities which were hitherto the penalty of Romanism and non-conformity. The elective franchise had been ceded to Irish Roman Catholics in 1793. The Union followed. In the united Parliaments the Irish party headed the cry for Catholic "emancipation." The dull bigotry of George III. for a while impeded even the abrogation of the antiquated Corporation and Test Acts. Measures of relief were subsequently postponed by the conservatism of the House of Lords, by popular dread of the growing Romanist influence, by just suspicion of their fautor Ireland. In 1828, however, the pressure of O'Connell and the Catholic association overcame all opposition. The repeal of the two Acts, 1828, was followed by the Catholic Relief Bill, and in April, 1829, three Romanist peers took their seats in the Upper House. All civil disabilities on religious grounds were now removed. The English Romanists were satisfied. But demands for fresh concessions were at once pressed by Ireland. Henceforward the "Catholic rent" was devoted to the support of an agitation against the Irish Church and

Church of  
England. Con-  
cessions to  
Romanists and  
Dissenters.

the Union. In deference to its Irish supporters the Government of 1833 decreed the abolition of the vestry cess. In lieu of this charge, provision was made for the Irish clergy by the suppression of ten sees and chapters. Incited by the example of the Romanists, the English Dissenters now raised a cry against the injustice of church-rates. After a protracted dispute this tax dropped into desuetude, though not formally abolished till 1868. To ensure perfect equality, the religious tests for University degrees were swept away in 1856, and those for admission to fellowships in 1871. It was hoped that all conceivable non-conformist grievances were thus removed. The political Dissenters, however, now entered on a campaign against the "State connexion" of the English Church. Social jealousy rather than religious sentiment prompts their present cry for "Disestablishment," a measure which would certainly rob the rural churches of all vitality, and doubtless much injure the interests of culture and morality. The clamour has found a pretext in the extreme concessions which agitation secured for the Romanists of Ireland, where however, the Reformed Establishment occupied a very different footing. In 1844 the existence of the Roman hierarchy of Ireland was statutably recognised. Next year a grant of £20,000 a year was made to the college at Maynooth. In 1869 the attempts to conciliate the sister island were crowned by the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the appropriation of its revenues to public purposes.

The internal history of the English Church has presented episodes of most interesting character, to



which we cannot attempt to do justice in a few lines. At a time when the prospects of the national Church seemed darkest, the <sup>The Anglo-Catholic revival. Other</sup> Anglo-Catholic school sprang up, protesting against the neglect of sacramental and objective agencies, which had characterised the Anglicanism of the last hundred years. The movement began with the Tractarians of Oxford in 1827. In the face of much opposition, it has wrought a complete change in the tenets, practices, and tastes of most Anglican worshippers. The unbroken continuity of the English Church—the existence of a Divinely constituted ecclesiastical polity—the importance of the Eucharist as the central act of Christian worship—the appeal of religion to the senses and emotions—these have been the incentives to a religious enthusiasm which strikingly contrasts with the deadness of the Reformed bodies abroad.

That vast sums have been spent yearly on church “restoration” is an indication of a wide-spread sentiment, favourable to the causes of piety and culture. Yet more satisfactory is the rise of countless new fabrics in the congested urban districts. These results are to a large extent traceable to the influence of the new theology. Though not the author of modern English philanthropy, nor even its chief factor, the Anglo-Catholics have thrown into it fresh incentives. Their various guilds, associations, and means of organization have done much to implant in the lower orders a love of the Established Church. To discuss the responsibilities of the new school in regard to the numerous perversions to Romanism that



have also marked its ascendancy is not our province. Still less can we enter into the puerile controversies and lawsuits, which have been provoked by the ritualistic eccentricities of its extreme partisans. Where the Anglican system has failed as yet to exercise satisfactory influence is in the intellectual province. Questions are as yet untouched, which in Germany and even in Scotland are the subject of keen disquisition, and for which Romanism itself is preparing its solution.\* Text-tied, and narrow in its sympathies, the Evangelical party will doubtless always fail to grapple with such problems. Whether the greater elasticity of the Anglo-Catholic school will enable it to dispose of them, in spite of its professedly dogmatic proclivities, remains to be seen. Hopes of an adequate treatment of such questions have been further deferred by the recent Disestablishment scare. The chief collisions of this Church with the modern school of criticism are connected with the Hampden case, 1848, the publication of "Essays and Reviews," 1860, and the adoption of the view of the Old Testament commonly accepted in Germany, by Bishop Colenso. Perhaps the most effective attempts to adapt the Anglican position to the nineteenth-century *zeit-geist* have been those of Kingsley, Maurice, and the leaders of the so-called Broad Church school. A quasi-revival of Convocation was ceded to this Church in 1854. But it has in no way limited episcopal autocracy. Numerous channels of talk have been opened in the form of congresses and associations, but

\* See *e.g.*, Mr. Mivart's articles in the July and December numbers of the *Nineteenth Century*, 1887.

the old right of synodical action is still denied to the clergy. This is the more keenly felt, now that the Government, which appoints the bishops, is not pledged to Anglican principles. A marvellous extension of Anglican organisations by missionary and other agencies in the colonies and foreign parts will be found recorded in this Church's statistical works.

The English sects may be numbered by hundreds. The fortunes of most of the parent bodies have been already traced out. It remains to notice that the Puritanism which formed the pretext for secession in former days is fast disappearing. Many usages which fifty years ago sober Anglicans scouted as savouring of Rome may now be found in nonconformist chapels. The chief fautors of the sects are the lower-middle classes, nor save in the case of new phases of pietistic enthusiasm, have they found much favour with men of education. An exception to this rule is furnished by the Unitarian body, which has long maintained a high intellectual character.

No appreciable alterations have taken place in the tenets of the Scotch Kirk, which is now the last asylum of classical Calvinism. Yet even here attempts have been made to improve the external accessories of worship. An attack on Dr. Lee for reading prayers from a printed form and introducing a harmonium was quashed by the Committee of Assembly, and since 1867 the use of organs has been permitted. The Kirk has been chiefly exercised about the patronage question, which after 1834 produced a furious

English sects.

Scotland. The  
Kirk. The  
Schism of 1843  
Scotch Episco-  
palians. The  
Irvingites.

dispute, resulting in the formation of the "Free Church of Scotland" in 1843. With the view of making the existent system less unpopular, the General Assembly of 1834 had limited the rights of patrons by a Veto Act. This allowed the majority of heads of families to cancel a ministerial appointment, without specifying any tangible reasons. The rejection of a presentee in the parish of Auchterarder brought the Veto Act into the courts of law, which declared it illegal. The General Assembly however refused to retrace its steps. It proceeded to harass seven ministers of the Strathbogie presbytery for appointing the "trials" of Mr. Edwards, a presentee who came before them encumbered with objections. While the ministers were assailed with spiritual censures on the one side, an action for damages menaced them on the other. Five of the seven, therefore, decided to induct Mr. Edwards in compliance with the secular law. They were thereupon deposed by the Assembly, as "denying the truth of God's holy word," "disowning the Lord Jesus," etc. Similar cases occurred in other parishes. But the high pretensions of the "non-intrusionist" party were now impaired by the courts' awarding substantial damages to the rejected presentee of Auchterarder. Attempts to secure a recognition of the Veto Act by Parliament proved fruitless. A letter from the Queen declared that the settlement of the Presbyterian Kirk concluded in 1712 was final. Chalmers, Candlish, and some 340 ministers hereupon decided to leave the Scotch Establishment. Their secession was immediately

followed by the foundation of the Free Church, which is now said to number 22 per cent. of the Scotch population. In recent times the principle of the Veto has been ceded to the Kirk by the Scotch Benefices Act, but there seems little chance of the schism being closed. The Episcopal Church of Scotland, which has had fair scope for development since 1792, appears to be gaining ground among the upper classes of Scotland. Its chief controversies have related to matters of ritual, and the question of retaining the Communion Office of 1764. It only remains to notice that singular excrescence of Scotch Presbyterianism, the "Catholic Apostolic Church." Irving, a noted Scotch preacher in London, conceived an idea that the miraculous powers of the early Church were revived in his congregation, 1830. Outbreaks of hysteria were mistaken for the gift of tongues. It was supposed that the office of the Apostleship was restored. Persons of wealth and position credited this new revelation, and the Irvingites formed themselves into a new religious body, with a constitution of 12 Apostles and 60 Evangelists, and with the title "Catholic Apostolic." The services of these religionists rival in pomp those of the Roman Church. The Liturgy, which received its present form in 1842, is mainly taken from the English Prayer-book. At the head of each congregation is an "Angel," under whom are Priests and Deacons. The central fane of this body is the splendid edifice in Gordon Square. The statistics give 47 registered "Catholic Apostolic" Churches in England and Wales.

We have traced the fortunes of Christianity from its dawn. We leave it utterly bereft of *General Survey.* organic unity,—its adherents differing widely in respect to matters of doctrine, its component bodies standing apart in almost primitive disintegration. The very virtues of the age prevent it from realizing the damaging effects of such disunion. Not only are heresy and schism no longer punishable by cruel deaths; the principles of religious tolerance have thoroughly permeated society, and are practically accepted by men of every shade of religious opinion, without regard to the anathemas of Popes, Councils, or Consistories. Certainly the triumphs of modern Christianity in the ethical province more than compensate for any loss of corporate cohesion. Working through ecclesiastical organizations of most varied character, its spirit has here achieved victories which the ages of organic unity never attempted. The abolition of slavery—the countless institutions for raising the moral and social condition of the poorer classes—the keen realization of the sanctity of human life—the universal deprecation of needless cruelties in war and in police—these are but a few instances of the advance of Christian civilization. Whether the ethical and practical influences which owe their existence to the Saviour's teaching will ever again be centralized in a united Christian Church, and if so by what concordats or concessions on the part of the representative bodies of Christianity, it is at present impossible to foresee.

# LIST OF SOVEREIGNS AND POPES.

FROM 1054 ONWARDS.

## EMPERORS.

	A.D.		A.D.
Henry III. (the Black)	1039	Charles IV. (of Luxemburg).	1347
Henry IV.	1056	(Günther of Schwartzburg, rival)	
(Rudolf of Swabia, rival)	1077	* Wenzel (of Luxemburg)	1378
(Hermann of Luxemburg, rival)	1081	* Rupert (of the Palatinate)	1400
(Conrad of Franconia, rival)	1093	Sigismund (of Luxemburg).	1410
Henry V.	1106	(Jobst of Moravia, rival)	
Lothair II.	1125	* Albert II. (of Hapsburg †)	1438
* Conrad III.	1138	Frederic III.	1440
Frederic I. (Barbarossa)	1152	* Maximilian I.	1493
Henry VI.	1190	* Charles V. (crowned at Bologna)	1519
* Philip, Otho IV. (rivals)	1197	* Ferdinand I.	1558
Otho IV.	1208	* Maximilian II.	1564
Frederic II.	1212	* Rudolf II.	1576
(Henry Raspe, rival)	1246	* Matthias	1612
(William of Holland, rival)	1246-7	* Ferdinand II.	1619
* Conrad IV.	1250	* Ferdinand III.	1637
<i>Interregnum</i>	1254	* Leopold I.	1658
* Richard (Earl of Cornwall), * Alfonso (King of Castile), rivals	1257	* Joseph I.	1705
* Rudolf I. (of Hapsburg)	1273	* Charles VI.	1711
* Adolf (of Nassau)	1292	* Charles VII. (of Bavaria)	1742
* Albert I. (of Hapsburg)	1298	* Francis I. (of Lorraine)	1745
Henry VII. (of Luxemburg)	1308	* Joseph II.	1765
Lewis IV. (of Bavaria)	1314	* Leopold II.	1790
(Frederic of Austria, rival)		* Francis II.	1792
		Abdication of Francis II.	1806

\* Those marked with an asterisk were never actually crowned at Rome.

† All the succeeding Emperors, except Charles VII. and Francis I. belong to the house of Hapsburg.

## SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

	A.D.		A.D.
Edward the Confessor .	1042	Henry VIII. . . .	1509
Harold, William I. (of		Edward VI. . . .	1547
Normandy) . . .	1066	Mary . . . .	1553
William II. . . .	1087	Elizabeth . . . .	1558
Henry I. . . .	1100	James I. . . .	1603
Stephen . . . .	1135	Charles I. . . .	1625
Henry II. . . .	1154	Commonwealth . .	1649
Richard I. . . .	1189	Oliver Cromwell, Pro-	
John . . . .	1199	tector . . . .	1653
Henry III. . . .	1216	Richard Cromwell .	1658-9
Edward I. . . .	1272	Charles II. . . .	1660
Edward II. . . .	1307	James II. . . .	1685
Edward III. . . .	1327	William and Mary .	1689
Richard II. . . .	1377	Anne . . . .	1702
Henry IV. . . .	1399	George I. . . .	1714
Henry V. . . .	1413	George II. . . .	1727
Henry VI. . . .	1422	George III. . . .	1760
Edward IV. . . .	1461	George IV. . . .	1820
Edward V., Richard III.	1483	William IV. . . .	1830
Henry VII. . . .	1485	Victoria. . . .	1837

## SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE.

	A.D.		A.D.
Henry I. . . .	1031	Henry II. . . .	1547
Philip I. . . .	1060	Francis II. . . .	1559
Lewis VI. (the Fat) .	1108	Charles IX. . . .	1560
Lewis VII. (the Young)	1137	Henry III. (King of	
Philip II. (Augustus) .	1180	Poland) . . . .	1574
Lewis VIII. (the Lion)	1223	Henry IV. . . .	1589
Lewis IX. (St. Lewis) .	1226	Lewis XIII. . . .	1610
Philip III. (the Bold) .	1270	Lewis XIV. (the Great)	1643
Philip IV. (the Fair) .	1285	Lewis XV. . . .	1715
Lewis X. . . .	1314	Lewis XVI. . . .	1774
Philip V. (the Long) .	1316	Republic . . . .	1792-1804
Charles IV. . . .	1322	(Lewis XVII.) . . .	1793-95
Philip VI. (of Valois) .	1328	Napoleon Bonaparte.	
John . . . .	1350	First Consul . . .	1799
Charles V. (the Wise) .	1364	Ditto, Emperor . .	1804
Charles VI. . . .	1380	Lewis XVIII. . . .	1814
Charles VII. . . .	1422	Charles X. . . .	1824
Lewis XI. . . .	1461	Louis Philippe . .	1830
Charles VIII. . . .	1483	Republic . . . .	1848
Lewis XII. . . .	1498	Napoleon III., Emperor	1852
Francis I. . . .	1515	Republic . . . .	1871



## POPES.

	A.D.		A.D.
Victor II. . . . .	1054	Innocent V. . . . .	1276
Stephen IX. . . . .	1057	Hadrian V. . . . .	1276
Benedict X. . . . .	1058	John XX. or "XXI." .	1277
Nicholas II. . . . .	1059	Nicholas III. . . . .	1277
Alexander II. . . . .	1061	Martin IV. . . . .	1281
Gregory VII. . . . .	1073	Honorius IV. . . . .	1285
(Clement, anti-Pope) .	1080	Nicholas IV. . . . .	1289
Victor III. . . . .	1086	<i>Vacancy</i> . . . . .	1292
Urban II. . . . .	1087	Celestine V. . . . .	1294
Paschal II. . . . .	1099	Boniface VIII. . . . .	1294
(Albert, anti-Pope) .	1102	Benedict XI. . . . .	1303
(Sylvester, anti-Pope) .	1105	Clement V. . . . .	1305
Gelasius II. . . . .	1118	<i>Vacancy</i> . . . . .	1314
(Gregory, anti-Pope) .	1118	John XXI. or "XXII." .	1316
Calixtus II. . . . .	1119	Benedict XII. . . . .	1334
(Celestine, anti-Pope) .	1121	Clement VI. . . . .	1342
Honorius II. . . . .	1124	Innocent VI. . . . .	1352
Innocent II. . . . .	1130	Urban V. . . . .	1362
(Anacletus, anti-Pope) .	1130	Gregory XI. . . . .	1370
Victor, anti-Pope . . .	1138	Urban VI. . . . .	1378
Celestine II. . . . .	1143	(Clement VII., anti-Pope)	
Lucius II. . . . .	1144	Boniface IX. . . . .	1389
Eugenius III. . . . .	1145	(Benedict, anti-Pope) .	1394
Anastasius IV. . . . .	1153	Innocent VII. . . . .	1404
Hadrian IV. . . . .	1154	Gregory XII. . . . .	1406
Alexander III. . . . .	1159	Alexander V. . . . .	1409
(Victor, anti-Pope) .	1159	John XXII. or "XXIII." .	1410
(Paschal, anti-Pope) .	1164	Martin V. . . . .	1417
(Calixtus, anti-Pope) .	1168	Eugenius IV. . . . .	1431
Lucius III. . . . .	1181	(Felix V., anti-Pope) .	1439
Urban III. . . . .	1185	Nicholas V. . . . .	1447
Gregory VIII. . . . .	1187	Calixtus IV. . . . .	1455
Clement III. . . . .	1187	Pius II. . . . .	1458
Celestine III. . . . .	1191	Paul II. . . . .	1464
Innocent III. . . . .	1198	Sixtus IV. . . . .	1471
Honorius III. . . . .	1216	Innocent VIII. . . . .	1484
Gregory IX. . . . .	1227	Alexander VI. . . . .	1492
Celestine IV. . . . .	1241	Pius III. . . . .	1503
<i>Vacancy</i> . . . . .	1241	Julius II. . . . .	1503
Innocent IV. . . . .	1243	Leo X. . . . .	1513
Alexander IV. . . . .	1254	Hadrian VI. . . . .	1522
Urban IV. . . . .	1261	Clement VII. . . . .	1523
Clement IV. . . . .	1265	Paul III. . . . .	1534
<i>Vacancy</i> . . . . .	1269	Julius III. . . . .	1550
Gregory X. . . . .	1271	Marcellus II. . . . .	1555

	A. D.		A. D.
Paul IV. . . . .	1555	Innocent XI. . . . .	1676
Pius IV. . . . .	1559	Alexander VIII. . . . .	1689
Pius V. . . . .	1566	Innocent XII. . . . .	1691
Gregory XIII. . . . .	1572	Clement XI. . . . .	1700
Sixtus V. . . . .	1585	Innocent XIII. . . . .	1720
Urban VII. . . . .	1590	Benedict XIII. . . . .	1724
Gregory XIV. . . . .	1590	Clement XII. . . . .	1730
Innocent IX. . . . .	1591	Benedict XIV. . . . .	1740
Clement VIII. . . . .	1592	Clement XIII. . . . .	1758
Leo XI. . . . .	1604	Clement XIV. . . . .	1769
Paul V. . . . .	1604	Pius VI. . . . .	1775
Gregory XV. . . . .	1621	Pius VII. . . . .	1800
Urban VIII. . . . .	1623	Leo XII. . . . .	1823
Innocent X. . . . .	1644	Pius VIII. . . . .	1829
Alexander VII. . . . .	1655	Gregory XVI. . . . .	1831
Clement IX. . . . .	1667	Pius IX. . . . .	1846
Clement X. . . . .	1670	Leo XIII. . . . .	1878

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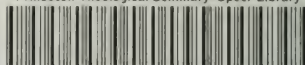
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